PREFACE.

THE Intention of this *Preface*, is not to make any Apology for the enſuing *Treatiſe*, ſince it needs none. My *Author* being well qualified for the Undertaking, and having Learnedly and Judiciouſly Collected theſe *Lives*, from moſt *Authentick Hiſtorians*, except that of *Don Sebaſtian*, wherein he has aſſiſted himſelf, with part of the *Fancy* and *Tale*, from the curious Pen of *Mademoiſelle des Jardins*, as he there acknowledges: All the reſt, are back't with good *Authority*; for I have taken the pains to inſpect many of the *Authors* here-

in cited, and sometimes made bold a little to *Enlarge* or *Explain*, as the Passages required.

But I was glad to have the occasion in the Reading this small Piece, to observe and expose how restless a Passion *Ambition* is, and what different Ways it treads to compass its *Designes*. Though amongst all the *Methods* that are used, none is more *Plausible*, and in a fairer way of *Success*, than this kind of *Artifice*, where the *Impostor*, upon his own Fund of *Confidence*, by personating *another*, sets up for *Himself*, and a *Kingdom*: And with such *Art* and *Subtilty*, puts on his borrowed *Plumes*, that the *Fraud* has not been soon, or perhaps never fully *discovered*: But the *End* has generally proved Unfortunate.

Here are represented almost all that *History* furnishes of this kind; except the late *Demetrius* of

of *Russia*, and very few more; which may possibly be added to *This* hereafter, in Case it be worthy of another *Edition*. But what *Volumes* might be made, should an *Historian* undertake to describe the *Arts* and *Tricks* of our *Modern Impostors*, who to arrive at their *Ambitious Ends*, far out-do the *villanies* related in this *Book*.

Where can we parallel such an *Impostor*? Who had been long sensible of the warm Influence of *Royal Favour*, and had all his former *Crimes* buried in *Oblivion*, and yet that he should return to his Vomit, by animating his *Princes* greatest *Enemies* to his Destruction; and most ungratefully, when the *Snuff* of his detested *Life* is almost *extinct*, still delude the World with his borrowed *Shapes* and *Disguises*; seducing his Country-men from

their *Duty* and *Allegiance*, with groundless *Fears* and *Jealousies*: And then, with the specious Pretences of *Liberty* and *Property*, so charm the *Multitude*, that he becomes not only the *Idol* of the *Clowns*, but of many others, who are ready to raise *Altars* to Him, having made *Medals* in his Honour; till, at last, he hurries them into *Riot*, *Sedition*, and their dismal consequences. Strange Contradiction! That *Vigour*, and *Decrepit Old Age*, should consist for *Rebellion*: And when *Life* is on Tilt, *New Plots* should be tapping, to solm the Nation, and intoxicate the weaker Sort to their Ruine.

Nor can I less admire the *Imposture* of his Clyents, who being a Scandal to Debauchery, cry out, *Great is Diana of the Ephesians! Our Religion! Our True Protestant Religion!* To follow the

Scent,

scent, and to keep up the Chase, One can even prostitute his *Wife* to another, and be basely branded *vigilanti stertere naso*: And to give a Specimen, that *All things* should be *in Common*, in an Honourable way, make bold with a *Sister*. Who cannot easily detect such an *Impostor*, that would make us believe, he can be just to *Oaths* and *Sacraments*, when he has abused them, and mimicke the most *Sacred Mystery*, with the Diversion of a *Christmass Fire*? And he in the Fraud of an Employment, by the *Letting out of Prisoners*, foretold he would be a Patriot for the *Liberty of the Subject*?

Lord, how it shocks me! to think, that a *Publican*, and a *Sinner*, One that from *Leathern Breeches* should by indirect means, so fill his *Canvas*, with the Stamp of *Majesty*, that he should aim at a *Peerage*, and missing of it, should

then forget his Allegiance to *Cæsar*. Sure, 'tis no small *Artifice* must make this Man appear a *Saint*, and an *Assertor of his Country's Rights*. And that a *Wise City*, worthy of *Bedlam*, should fancy him the *Chast* Guardian of *Widdows* and *Orphans*, who us'd to make *private Assignations*, with their *Wives* and *Daughters* in *Moore-fields*; and then, at last, modestly abscon-ded, hoping to defraud them of their *Portions*.

But those who most raise my Admiration, move in a *Lower Orb*; yet are no less *Eminent* in their proper Sphere, than the *Former*; These, like the *Moon*, though enlightned from another, yet have great *Influence*, and are very *Instrumental* in the Flux and Reflux of our *Troubled Waters*. Great *Zealots* for a *Religion*, which is yet to be *chosen*. *Hypocrites*, always stigmatized for *Atheism*:

Theism: Cowards to every one, but God, and their Prince; both whom they dare Lampoon in Taverns, and impudently Defie; because, they know, their greatest Attribute is MERCY. 'Tis a mad World, my Masters!

When One sets up for a Protestant Pillar, who by his Bulk perhaps might be thought so, to hear him mouth out PROPERTY and RELIGION; whose Estate, like his Poetry, lies in Terra Incognita; and his Piety such, that he scarce ever Names his Maker, but to Profane Him. One, worse than a Pharisee, neither Clean within, nor without,; who bauls for a Dole, and is chosen by his Worthy Patrons, not for his Brains, but his Lungs. The Devils Maxim holds true; That no Man serves God for nought; and he, to invert the Case, serves not his Masters for nought:

Though,

Though, when these *Distractions* shall be quite Composed, and the *Delirium* of the *Nation* abated, his *Patrons* may discard their *Tool*; which being without an edg, rather *Bruised* than *Cut*: And so at length, in imitation of a *Play-House*, retrench their Expences, and deprive their *Lumber-of-a-Writer*, of his *Pension*. This Man was a *Papist* by his Education; a most scandalous *Libertine*, in course of Life; and a profest *Atheist* is his Conversation: No doubt therefore, but he must be a fit Champion for the *Protestant Religion*, and the *Laws*, against *Popery*, and *Arbitrary Government*.

And since we are in, let us not forget another *Impostor*, whom *Nature* never designed for a *Man*, but said, *Be thou always a Boy*. A strange *Mixture* of a *Creature*, who learnt in his Fa-

ther's

ther's Shop to be *Pragmatical* and *Fantastick*; and thinks it as easy a Task to *Cleanse*, and take off all the *Stains* and *Spots*, which he with his *Faith Glass* can represent in the *Face* of the *Establisht Government*, as for his *Sire*, in a *Chequered Apron*, on a *Saturday Night*, to scowre the *Face* of a *Roman*. Sure, in all reason, 'twas enough for him to have imitated *Soap-Bladders* in *Poetry*, and not to have been set on work about *Trimming* up a *New Successor*; where, like his own *Rockets* on a *Pope-Night*, he *Rambles* extravagantly, and *Whisks* this, and that way, to no purpose; and his best *Reasons*, as once his *Squibbs*, destroy themselves, and endanger no Body so much as their *Author*. If he could possibly be made capable of *Good Advice*, I would counsel him only to play the *Fool* in *Bartholomew-*

Fair;

Fair; there let him be *Laureat* to King *Oberon*; and at his own *Booth*, be *Zany* and *Poet*. But let not his own *Life* and *Manners* be the Subject of his next *Puppet-Show*; leſt it Debauch the *Rabble*, his great Admirers.

Theſe, and many other *Scribblers*, have been Selected, as the *Propogaters* of the *Cauſe*; but they are generally ſo *Vile* and *Inconſiderable*, that I chuſe to deſpiſe them, and ſcorn to do them the credit of Remarking.

I would ſtop here; but, *Difficile eſt Satyram non Scribere*; as faſt as I cut off, *New Heads* ariſe from my *Hydra*; *Legion*, of Old, left *Man* for *Swine*, and now for *Swine* enters *Man* again. Such *Impoſtors* have appeared amongſt us of late, that it is incredible to think, that our Senſes and Underſtandings ſhould have been ſo much impoſed on, as they have,

have Wretches, moſt profligate in all ſorts of *Wickedneſs*; as *Cheating*, *Thieving*, *Forgery*, *Coyning*, *Lying*, *Perjury*; nay, *Sodomy*; have on a ſuddain been entertained and credited, as moſt *Pious*, *Sober*, *Virtuous Chriſtians*, and *True Proteſtants*. What greater *Prodigy*, than that ſuch *Spirits of Darkneſs*, ſhould paſs for *Angels of Light*? Yet in reſpect to the Senſe and Juſtice of my Country, I will keep in bold Truths, and ſpare even the *Impoſtor* with a *Witneſs*. But when any Man ſhall think it convenient, in proper Colours, to draw the true *Lineaments* of ſome of theſe *Counterfeits*, the Hiſtory of their *Lives*, though writ with the greateſt *Impartiality*, will appear as improbable as *Rablais* his *Garagantua*. In the mean time, let them be tormented with their *Secret Crimes*; and in their *Conſci-*

Incer-

rates, which are as a *Thousand Witnesses*, confess,

——— Ambiguæ si quando citabere Testis
Incertæq; rei. Phalaris *licet imperet, ut sis*
Falsus, & admoto dictet perjuria Tauro.
Summum crede nefas, vitam præferre pudori,
Et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.
Juvenal. *Sat.* 8.

I could have Paraphrased this into *English*, but will content my self with Doctor *Holiday's* Translation.

When in a Doubtful Cause, thou needs (stand
A Witness, *should* Phalaris *bid thee be*
False, shew his Bull, *and dictate* Perjury.
Life, before Vertue, count it lend to choose;
Do not, to save Life, th' Ends we live for loose.

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A TABLE OF THE Histories contained in this Book.

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A LIST OF INFAMOUS Impostors. OR LIVES Of several Notorious Counterfeits, who from the most Abject and Meanest of the People, have usurped the Titles of *Emperors*, *Kings*, and *Princes*.

CHAP. I.

Of the False Smerdis.

ONE of the most Profligate Impostors I can write of, is the Counterfeit *Smerdis*, who was a *Magus*; which, taking the word in its most favourable Acceptation, signifies a *Scholar*, an *Astrologer*, or *Philoso-*

pher:

pher: But I am more inclin'd to believe he was a *Magician*; who for some Crime, escap'd the Justice of *Cyrus*, with the loss of his Ears. The Frenzy and Distraction into which *Cambyses*, King of *Persia*, and Son of *Cyrus* the Great, fell, gave this Impostor an Opportunity to shew himself; and, for eight Months, to ascend the Throne of one of the Greatest, and most Potent Empires in the Universe. For the King, when fallen into this Distemper, caus'd his only Brother to be put to Death, he being then Governour of *Persia*: Whose Name this *Magician* so well, as obtain'd him the Quality and Empire of *Smerdis*. The untimely Death of this Prince, gave him the Opportunity of being so great an Impostor; the Distraction of *Cambyses*, was the cause of his Death, and the sacrilege of *Cambyses*, in mortally wounding the God *Apis*, or *Epaphus*, the Occasion of that Punishment. This *Apis* the *Egyptians* blinded with Idolatory, ador'd in the Figure of a Calf. The Fable of this Divinity is known to proceed from *Jupiter*'s loving the Princess *Io*, Daughter of *Inachus*, King of *Argos*, & *Juno* contrived to disprize him with her: wherefore *Jupiter* turn'd her into an Heifer, to secure her against the Revenge and Jealousie of the Goddess. But that was

was not sufficient to extinguish her Jealous Inhibitions, which prompted her to buy that beautiful Cow of *Jupiter*, who could find no excuse to deny her. *Juno* committed her to the keeping of *Argus* with an hundred Eyes, at which *Jupiter* being extreamly griev'd, sent *Mercury* his Servant, and stole her away while *Argus* slept. This so engaged *Juno*, that her Revenge fell on *Io*, whom she commanded the fury *Erinnys* to make distracted, and put upon a wild Fancie, which made her wander about the World, until grown weary and faint, she stopt in *Egypt*, where she was restored to her former Shape and Person, and brought to Bed of *Epaphus*; The Egyptians Worshipping both her, and her Son. *Ovid* tells this Story as the end of his first Book of *Metamorphosis*.

Cambyses, although the eldest Son, and Successor to so great a King, and in the Possession of such mighty Provinces as the *Persian* Empire contained, burn'd with an unlimited Ambition to extend his Conquests, which he did over *Egypt*, stripping *Psammenitus* the King, Son of *Amasis* the Usurper, of all Regal Power. But this not being enough for his vast Thoughts; he undertook three great Wars, at the same time, though very unseasonably, and to

his disadvantage; making the *Carthaginians*, the *Ethiopians*, and the *Arabians* his Enemies. Against each of these he had ill Success. He could not attack the *Carthaginians*, but by Sea; and the *Phœnicians*, his only Subjects that could assist him with Ships, mutinied, and refused to lend him any; believing it unnatural to contribute towards the Ruin of the *Carthaginians*, who proceeded from them. To advance towards *Ethiopia*, the Army had vast Deserts to march over; and this young unadvised King took so ill Measures, and made so small Provisions, that he hardly got the Fifth Part of the way, ere his Army wanted, and were forced to eat their own Horses, and Camels; and afterward, by Decimation and Lot, to feed on every Tenth Man; till at last he, with the Wrack of this miserable Army, got back to *Thebes* in *Egypt*. The Third, which was of Fifty Thousand Men, was commanded to waste the Country round the Temple of *Jupiter Hammon*, and to burn that famous Temple, with the Statue of *Jupiter*. When they had advanced as far as the City *Oasis*, seven days Journey beyond *Thebes*, being the mid-way to the Town of *Oasis*, (the Country they were to attack) they halted in a Valley; where an impe-

impetuous Wind, blowing Mountains of Sand from all parts, buried them together, not one escaping; so that *Cambyses* could have no other News, but only the probability of this Accident.

The God *Apis*, so much ador'd by the *Egyptians*, shew'd himself that Year, which he had not done a long time before. Those blind People, when they found a Calf of extraordinary Largeness and Beauty, made it their False God, using all Shews of publick Joy they could express. *Cambyses*, being angry, and ill humour'd with his late Disasters, believed they rejoyced at his ill Fortune, and took a Pretext to do it for the Apparition of their God. He was then at *Memphis*, where he commanded the Magistrates to come before him, and give an Account, why they took so ill a Conjuncture for their Mirth and Feasting. No Excuses would serve, nor no Submissions prevail; but he caused them all to be put to Death. He also commanded the Priests of *Apis* to be brought, with the Calf they ador'd; which was black, and had a large square Spot in his Fore head; another in the resemblance of an Eagle on his Back; a Crois under his Jaws; and at the End of his Tail, a thick forked Tuft of Hair. *Cambyses* drew his Sword, and wound-

ded him in the Ham, though his intention was to have kill'd him, calling the Priests contemptuous Names, saying, *You deserve no better Gods, than Flesh and Blood, that can feel and smart with a Wound.* Then, in derision, caus'd them to be cruelly beaten, commanding his Guards to kill whoever they found rejoycing on that Occasion. This severe Order soon put an end to their Feasting. The God *Apis* was carried into the Temple, where he languish't till he died, and was privately buried by his Priests. Heaven, as the *Egyptians* believed, punish'd *Cambyses* for these Sacriledges, taking away his Reason, and making him distracted. One of the saddest Effects of his Frenzy, was the Death of his own Brother *Smerdis*, a very accomplish'd Prince, and of so extraordinary Strength, that it caused his Brother's Jealousy so far, as to deny him Access to his Person, by sending him into *Persia*, while he remain'd in *Egypt*. His Ambassadors, or rather his Spies in *Æthiopia*, amongst other Rarities, brought home with them a Bow of so large a size, that no *Persian* had strength enough to bend it, but *Smerdis* only, who did it with two Fingers; which was the first subject of his Disgrace, as that which follows was the cause of his Death.

Cambyses dream't, that a *Courrier* came in great haste, & brought him news, that *Smerdis* sat on his Throne, & that his Head reacht Heaven. This made him resolve his Death; and gave *Prexaspes*, one of his Officers, Orders to see it done; which he did near *Susa*, as he accompany'd him a Hunting: Others say, It was by throwing him into the *Red Sea*, as he walk'd on the Cliffs. I need but mention the other Cruelties of *Cambyses*; The Murthering one of his Sisters, whom he had Marry'd, kicking her many times on the Belly, when she was with Child, of which she died: The Occasion she gave him, was wittily reproaching him of his Killing *Smerdis*. He shot the Son of *Prexaspes* with an Arrow, and then rip't him open; so paying his Father for Murthering *Smerdis*. He put twelve of his great Lords to a cruel Death, burying them alive, with their Heads downwards; and would have kill'd the best of his Counsellors, the wise and famous *Crœsus*; who lost his Kingdom of *Lydia*, with his immense Riches; on whom *Cyrus*, his Father, had pity. These were the Præludes, or rather the Causes, which preceded and encourag'd this Impudent *Impostor*, of whom we treat.

During the time *Cambyses* committed these Excesses of Cruelties, and that his

Frenzy made him more hated, than a wild Beast; there were two Brothers, by Profession *Magicians*; One of them, called *Patazithes*, was an Officer of his House; These conspir'd against him. *Patazithes*, knowing the Death of *Smerdis*, which was hid from the *Persians*, had Insolence enough to undertake this Enterprize, which follows: He had a Brother of the Age and Features of *Smerdis*, and of his Name also; him he contrived to set on the Throne, and instructed him in all the Arts he should use. He sent Heralds into *Ægypt*, commanding the Officers of the Army, for the future, to obey *Smerdis*, the Son of *Cyrus*; and no longer to own Allegiance to *Cambyses*: These Heralds so well acquitted themselves of their Commission, that one of them met *Cambyses* with his Army at *Ecbatana* in *Syria*, to whom he boldly shewed his Order; who was astonish'd at his Resolution; and turning towards *Prexaspes*, spoke to him in these words: *Is it thus, you have executed the Commands I gave you? No, Sir*, (replyed *Prexaspes*) *it is not true, that your Brother can ever Rebel, or Fight more or less against your Authority; for with my own Hands I obey'd your Orders: And if those who are out of the World can fight, you have more reason to apprehend A-*

stiyages,

ſtyages, *King of the* Medes; *but if your Majeſty have no cauſe to think of him, you have no other to fear your Brother* Smerdis. *I beſeech you, Sir,* (continued he) *grant me ſome of your Guards, to purſue this Herald, and bring him back, that you may learn from him, if he have ſeen, or ſpoke to* Smerdis. This Advice pleaſed the King: The Herald was brought back, and ask't, *If he received his Orders from the Mouth of* Smerdis, *or from ſome of his Miniſters only?* He ingenuouſly confeſt, he had not ſeen him, ſince the War *Cambyſes* made in *Egypt*; but had his Orders from the *Magician*, whom his Majeſty made Intendant of his Affairs in *Perſia*; who ſaid in theſe words: Smerdis, *the Son of* Cyrus, *commands this to be done.* *Cambyſes* was ſatisfied by this Anſwer, that *Prexaſpes* had obey'd him; whom he otherwiſe had certainly put to Death. He ask't him, If he could conjecture, who were the Authors of this Rebellion and Impoſture? *I doubt* (ſaid *Prexaſpes*) *they were the Magicians* Patazithes, *Governour of the Houſhold, and* Smerdis *his Brother.* When *Cambyſes* heard the Name of *Smerdis*, he ſeem'd Thunderſtruck, remembring the Truth of his Dream; and knowing too late his fatal Error, wept bitterly for his double Murther,

ther, of his Brother and Sister? In this transport of Grief, hastily mounting his Horse, to chastise the Rebels at *Susa*, the Scabbard of his Sword dropt off, and he found himself wounded in the same Place, with the Point, where he hurt the God *Apis*. It surpriz'd him more, when they told him, He was in *Ecbatana* in *Syria*: The Oracle of *Buto* having foretold he should die in *Ecbatana*, he believed it the great City of that Name in *Media*, where he kept his Treasure, and commonly resided. Flattering himself he should end his days there, in his old Age; but troubled at the Imposture of the *Magician*, and grieved for the Excesses of his past Life, his Wound having made him languish twenty days, he sent for the most considerable Officers, and spoke thus to them: *Fate will, that* Cambyses, *the Son of* Cyrus, *die here, and now I am constrain'd* (*my dear* Persians) *to discover what I have hid from you hitherto. When I was in* Egypt *I dream'd a Dream, which made me fear my Brother should usurp my Crown: This Fear made me act with more Precipitancy, than Reason; (I find Man has not the Power to hinder what shall happen) I too rashly sent* Prexaspes *to kill* Smerdis *at* Susa; *After which Crime, I thought my self secure; not imagining, when he was*

out

out of the World, any mortal Creature dar'd rebelliously rise up against me? But I see I am miserably abused, and have been, to no purpose, my Brother's Murtherer: For, notwithstanding I am rob'd of my Empire, it was this Smerdis *the* Magician, *the Dæmon shew'd me in my Sleep; and 'tis he, was to take Arms against me. Think not, when I am gone, to have* Smerdis, *the Son of* Cyrus, *for your King: They are two* Magicians, *would have the Empire; One I made Governour of my House; the Other is* Smerdis, *his Brother. But, Oh deplorable unhappiness! He that should have revenged his Insolence, is basely murthered by his meanest Relations. Next, I conjure you in the Name of the Gods, in whose Protection Crown'd Heads are, and which I hope to obtain of you, my most dear* Acœmenides, *since the Kings of* Persia *proceed from you; never suffer such a Meanness of Spirit, as may let the Empire, and Sovereign Power return to the* Medes: *If they obtain it by Fraud, or Force, use the same Methods to tear it from them; and if in this you obey my Orders, I beseech the Gods, your Fields, your Wives, and your Cattle may be fruitful: But if you do not as I command, on the contrary, may all Miseries fall on your Heads, and your Ends be unhappy as mine.*

Having

Having ended this Discourse, he wept abundantly, deploring his so early Fate. The *Persians* that were by, found his griefs so moving, they tore their Garments, and shed many Tears, crying out for sorrow. His pain augmented till the Wound gangreen'd, & perish't the Bone: Death giving a Period to his Reign, which was Seven Years, and Five Months, without any Children.

The truth of the Imposture, and Usurpation of the Magicians, could not enter into the minds of the *Persians*; it seem'd incredible to them; They thought the Death of *Smerdis*, of which *Cambyses* informed them, was only a Pretext to make the Name of the *Persians* odious, and believed firmly that *Smerdis*, by this Rebellion, had placed himself on the Throne: Which opinion they continued in the longer, by *Prexaspes*'s utterly denying the Murther, though if he had own'd it, he had certainly been destroy'd, when *Cambyses* was Dead, who authorized and avow'd it; for the *Persians* would have been very rigorous with him, that had dar'd to shed the Blood of that Great King *Cyrus*.

The *Magician*, after the Death of *Cambyses* bearing the Name of *Smerdis*, Reign'd without trouble or contradiction, Seven Months

Months together; during which time, he exercised his Liberality and Munificence, to the Subjects of the Empire; which were so extraordinary that after his Death, the People of *Asia*, (except the *Persians*) lamented his loss extreamly. He sent his Proclamations through all the Provinces, to exempt the People from Taxes, promising them Peace and Rest: Declaring he he would List no Souldiers for the War, in three Years. But in Eight Months his Villany was in this manner detected.

Otanes, Son of *Pharnaspes*, who was one of the greatest Lords of *Persia*, suspected the Magician not to be *Smerdis*, the Son of *Cyrus*, and his suspition was grounded on his recluse way of Living; for he never came out of the Palace, nor gave Audience or access to any *Persian* Lord. This just doubt made him send a faithful Servant to *Phedime* his Daughter; who with the rest of the Wives of *Cambyses*, was in the possession, and enjoyment of the *Magician*, to ask what kind of Man lay with her, if it were *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus*, or some other? She sent him word by the Messenger, she could not resolve him, because she had never seen *Smerdis*, nor could she describe what kind of Man he was, that had access to her. Upon this, her Father

desir'd,

deir'd, she would ask *Atossa*, the Sister and Wife of *Cambyses*, and now in the Number of those, in the Possession of the Usurper; To which she reply'd, *She could not speak to Atossa, nor any other Woman she King lay with; for this Man, whatever he be, since he became King, keeps us all in different Apartments.*

Cyaxes being confirmed in his suspicion, by these Answers, sent his faithful Servant a third time, to propose what follows; *That she being of a Noble Family, should not fear exposing her self in a danger her Father desired her to; for if this Man were not* Smerdis, *the Son of* Cyrus, *but he whom he suspected, she ought not to be asraid by him, nor he possess the Sovereignty he usurp'd over the Persians, but be punished as his Insolence deserved: Therefore she should endeavour to feel his Head, when he was asleep, and if she found his Ears, he was undoubtedly* Smerdis *the Son of* Cyrus; *if not, he must be certainly the* Smerdis *the Magician.* *Phedima* could not dissemble her apprehensions of the danger; for if he surpriz'd her in that curiosity, she could expect nothing but Death: nevertheless she promised to venture, and obey her Father. *Cyrus* had cut this *Magitians* Ears off, for some Villany committed in his time; and she feeling when he was asleep,

sleep, found he had none, and early in the Morning gave her Father notice. *Otanes* inform'd *Aspathines* and *Gobrias* of this affair, who before extremely suspected it; therefore were easily perswaded of the Truth. 'Twas their opinion, each of them should choose a Colleague, able to Act, and advise with them. *Otanes* took *Intaphernes*; *Gobrias*, *Megabyses*; and *Aspathines* chose *Hydarnes*. They were six in Number, when *Darius* arrived from *Susa*, the Metropolis of *Persia*, of which *Hystaspes* his Father, was Governour. They joyn'd him to their Number, being now seven of the Greatest Lords in the *Persian* Empire; They confirmed, and reciprocally gave their Faith to each other. When it came to *Darius* his turn, he spoke in this manner. *For my part, I believe I no body knew the* Magician *Reigned, but my self; and that* Smerdis, *the Son of* Cyrus, *was not in the World. I came hither on purpose to exterminate this Impostor; but since I find you are all equally inform'd of it, I think it convenient now to agree, what is to be done, and not defer it a moment; for there can be no advantage in long debates.* Otanes reply'd, *My Dear Son, thou speakest like the Son of* Hystaspes, *a Man of Gallantry and Honour, with whom thou dost equally possess Prudence and Courage; however let us not pre-*

cipitate

dispute the Execution of such an affair, but with mature deliberation let us undertake and proceed in it. Then *Darius* replying, said; *Know my Lords here present, that if you follow the opinion of* Oranes, *you are all ruin'd: For some body, for his particular intent, will discover this matter to the Usurper: and therefore you that first began to excite the business, because you have thought fit to trust several Persons, and me also, let us go through with it this Day: For know, that if you resolve to pass it, I will prevent my being the Sacrifice of another Mans Peace, and first discover to the* Magicians, *what will destroy you all.*

Oranes, considering the determination of *Darius*, said; *Since you so much resolve to hasten this affair, tell us how we shall get arm'd into the Palace, and attack the Impostor? You know (at least, by Fame) the Guards about his Person are very strong; How then shall we make our way to him?* *Darius* answer'd, *There are many things, (my dear* Oranes*) that are more easily executed than projected; as there are also several, which seem plain in the discoursing of whose Success is doubtful. You may reasonably suppose, we shall find no great difficulty in passing his Guards, being so many of the chief Persons in the Empire; we shall meet no Man dare stop*

us,

us; but rather give us place, either for Fear, or Respect. I have, at least, a pretention not to be deny'd: I came now from Persia, *and can tell them, I have Affairs of the greatest consequence to acquaint the King with, from my Father, who is Governor there: A Fiction may be allowed, when Necessity requires it: Truth and Falshood have oft' the same end; For who uses the former, aims at their own Advantage, and the latter serves to perswade what we desire. As to the Guards of the Pretended King; If they let us pass quietly, and without resistance, they will have no occasion to repent it; and we shall have an opportunity to reward them, as they merit: But if any resist our intent, we must use them like Enemies; and being entred, resolve to execute our great design.*

Gobrias extreamly approved this Discourse; and further added, *My Dear and Honoured Friends, It will be much more glorious for us, to tear the Empire from this Usurper, or if we can't, to die in so noble an Action; than for us* Persians *to obey a* Mede, *whose Ears have been cut off for his Crimes; especially if we call to our remembrance, what* Cambyses *recommended to us on his Death-bed, with all the Imprecations imaginable; if we suffered such an Ignominy, and lost the Empire to the* Medes. *We then believed*

ved not what he said, we could not perswade our selves, neither of his Brothers Murther, nor of the Magitians insolence, to gain the Crown by so base an Imposture. I am now convinced by Darius; *and am of the Opinion, That immediately, and without separating, we should go from this place to the Palace, and execute our designe.*

They all agreed to what *Gobrias* proposed. But while these seven Illustrious *Persian* Lords were consulting, the Magicians *Patizithes* and *Smerdis*, were thinking how they might strengthen their Usurpations, by obtaining the Friendship of *Prexaspes*, in whom they believed great disposition towards it. *Cambyses* having shot his Son with an Arrow; his excels of Cruelty not satisfied with that, used him yet more barbarously, ripping him open, to shew his skill in shooting through his Heart, boasting his nimbleness and dexterity. *Prexaspes* onely had the certain knowledge of *Smerdis*'s death, having murther'd him with his own hands, to obey the impious and unnatural Cruelty of *Cambyses*, which made him odious to all the *Persians* that suspected it. They sent for him to the Palace, promising him Wonders, and obliging him to take an Oath of Secrecy, not to discover how they had Usurpt the *Persian* Monarchy. *Prexaspes* promised them all they desired.

The

The Magicians finding him ſo much inclin'd to their purpoſe, told him their Intention to aſſemble the *Perſians*, at the foot of the Caſtle, and that he ſhould go with them, and from the top of a Tower aſſure the People, no other than *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus*, was their preſent King. They choſe him rather than any other, becauſe of his Authority, and his often Proteſting, on ſeveral occaſions, he had not kill'd *Smerdis*, as he was ſuſpected to have done; even this alſo he promiſed them. They aſſembled the *Perſians*, ordering he ſhould aſcend the Tower, to make his Speech, as they had agreed: But he forgot, on purpoſe, what the Magicians deſired him to ſay, and diſcours'd of *Achemenis*, the firſt of the *Perſian* Line; declaring the Progreſs and the Particulars of that Illuſtrious Family; and coming to *Cyrus*, he ſhew'd them the great things he had done for the *Perſian* Nation. After this, he told them the truth of all, alleadging for his Excuſe, the fear he had of Death, if he had open'd his lips; but being then forced to ſpeak, he declared the real truth, that he had murthered *Smerdis*, the Son of *Cyrus*, by the moſt expreſs Command of *Cambyſes*; and that thoſe who now poſſeſt the Regality, were Magicians, and Impoſtors, calling for Curſes on the *Perſians* heads, if they did not

not tear it from them, and take Vengeance on their deceit. After which he threw himself down from the Tower on the Pavement. To give him his due, he was a man of extraordinary Merit, excepting his guilty Obedience to *Cambyses*.

These seven Lords resolved, to attack the Magicians immediately, after having recommended the Success of their Enterprize to their Gods. They knew nothing that had arrived to *Prexaspes*, till by the way, they heard the surprizing Catastrophe; and going to a private place, a little out of the street, discoursed what was to be done, since this last Conjuncture: Those who had been of the same Opinion with *Otanes*, persisted in their first Sentiments to defer the business, because of this Accident; But they who agreed with *Darius*, persevered that there was no time to be lost; but immediately to advance to the Palace, and finish their Resolutions in so just a designe. While they were in this Debate, they observed seven Faulcons pursuing two Vultures: This they took for a good *Augury* of the happy Execution of their Enterprize, and went boldly to the Palace. When they came to the outward Gate, it happened, as *Darius* had foreseen; The Guards having so much respect for the great Lords of the Empire, suspected

pected no *Accident* from thoſe who appear'd in ſo much Pomp and Majeſty; not ſo much as asking, *If they were ſent for?* or, *What they deſired?* When they entred the Court of the Palace, they met ſeveral Eunuches that went on Meſſages, and introduced thoſe who had any affairs in the Court: Theſe demanded the occaſion of their coming, chiding the Porters, and threatning a ſevere Puniſhment for ſuffering any to paſs; and at the ſame time, putting themſelves in a poſture, to hinder their advancing further. Whereupon theſe Illuſtrious Confederates gave each other the Signal, and drawing their Swords from under their Veſts, ſoon laid the Eunuchs on the Ground, running with all the haſt imaginable to the *Magicians* Apartment; where they found them together, conſulting on the laſt Accident of *Prexaſpes*. When hearing the Crys of the Eunuchs, and perceiving what was done, they made a Vertue of Neceſſity, and ſtood upon their Defence; one ſeizing a Bow, and the other a Lance: The firſt was uſeleſs againſt men that were ſo near, and aimed at their heads; the other defended himſelf valiantly with the Lance, or rather a Halbeard, with which he wounded *Aſpathynes* in the Thigh, and ſtruck out one of *Intaphernes* his Eyes; but none of theſe ſeven

Lords were kill'd. He that could not uſe the Bow, fled into a Chamber, where he lay endeavouring to barricade the Door; but *Darius* and *Gobrias*, entering at the ſame time with him, prevented his Intentions. The Room was dark, and the Windows ſhut; this pretended King affecting obſcure places. *Gobrias* cloſed with him, and *Darius* fear'd to run his Sword into the *Magician*, leſt he ſhould kill his Friend by miſtake; but *Gobrias* calling to him, chid him for his delay, chuſing rather to be kill'd himſelf, than ſave the *Impoſtor*. *Darius* either by his Voice, or his own good Fortune, took his meaſures ſo well, that he onely wounded the *Magician*, with that ſtroak laying him on the Ground.

Five of theſe Lords, Deliverers of their Country, went out with the Heads of the *Magicians*, leaving *Aſpathynes* and *Intapherne*s wounded in the Palace, to ſecure that, whilſt they ſhew'd the People what they had done, telling the reaſon of their Exploit, and killing all the *Magicians* they met. The *Perſians* were Raviſht for Joy of this Heroick Action, being inraged at the ſame time againſt all they thought *Magicians*, they deſtroy'd many; and had not the Night hindered them, none would have eſcapt. Afterwards they kept that day a Feſtival, called

led *Magophonia*, or *The Deſtruction of Magicians*; which Day none of them durſt appear in publick, but ſhut themſelves up in their Houſes.

This Hiſtory is taken out of *Herodotus*, one of the ancienteſt Hiſtorians, whoſe Works have been preſerved and tranſmitted to our Times; and who flouriſhed about the Year of the World 3573. This is in his Third Book, Entituled *Thalia*. 'Tis 2213 years ſince it happened, counting to this preſent year 1682. and 5655 years ſince the Creation of the World, according to the Chronology of *Conradus Functius*: For almoſt all Chronologiſts vary about the number of Years, counting either ſome few more or leſs. And this was in the year of the World 3442. that this Impoſtor, the *Magician*, thus ſhewed himſelf.

I might have begun my Hiſtory long before, and have ſpoken of the famous *Semiramis*, Wife of *Ninus*, the Son of *Belus*, the ſecond King of the *Aſſyrians*, or *Caldeans*. Some there are that confound him with his Father *Belus*, ſince this crafty Queen had the ſubtilty to diſguiſe her Sex, and uſurp the Throne of her Son *Nynias*; ſo that ſhe might paſs for an Impoſtor. Nevertheleſs,

because she had been the Wife of a mighty Monarch, and that she made her self as famous, as any other of the Kings of *Assyria*, by her Victories in *Asia*, *Media*, *Persia*, *Ægypt*, *Lybia*, *Ethiopia*, and the *Indies*, during her long Reign of Forty two years; which began in the year of the World 1959. and also by the memorable Building of Brick, which encompassed the City of *Babylon* of 480 *Stadia* or Furlongs: And that I have not undertaken to speak of any but *Infamous Impostors*, who being descended from Base and Contemptible Parentage, have aspired to the Dignity of Princes and Soveraigns, to make themselves the Possessors of their Estates; and which Imposture of theirs, has been punished with some Ignominious Death.

Nor will I less rank, among these *Notorious Impostors*, the Patriarch *Jacob*, Father of the Twelve Tribes of *Israel*, the Person in whom were deposited the great Blessing which *God* had promised to his chosen People; though he feigned to be *Esau*, covering his Hands and Neck with the Skin of a Kid; and although he had told more than one Untruth, *That he came from Hunting, where he had kill'd Venison, and that he was his Brother* Esau: For in the bottom, *Rhebecca* his Mother, who had put him upon

practi-

practising this deceit, did not sin in the main; and, by consequence, he was no *Impostor*. An eminent Action, when it is Just and Honourable, ought not to be condemned, for one that is small and imperfect. So the Body ought not to be rejected, because one Member is out of order. The promise of God must have been accomplished, *That the Elder Brother must serve the Younger.*

Herodotus gives an Account immediately after this History, of the Consultation what Government should be establish'd in *Persia*; *Otanes* spoke in favour of Democracy, for the People; *Megabysus* for Oligarchy, or the Nobles; and *Darius* for Monarchy, whose Opinion prevail'd; as also his Fortune: for the Choice fell on him.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

THE
Counterfeit NERO.

THE Emperour *Nero*, that Monſter of Cruelty, the Horrour and Averſion of Mankind, believing himſelf condemn'd, by the Senate, to a Cruel and Ignominious Death, though not proportionable to his Crimes, found one of his Free Men, call'd *Epaphroditus*, to encourage and aſſiſt him to chuſe one more milde; which he gave himſelf in the Thirtieth Year of his Age, and of the World 4033; of our Lord the Seventy firſt.

About two Years after, when *Otho* bore the Name of *Emperour*, an Impoſtor appeared in the *Eaſt*, who had Inſolence and Ambition enough, to perſwade the People, he had a Title to the Imperial Crown; which he ſaid, was torn from him by the unjuſt and villanous Attempts of the Senate. *Cornelius Tacitus* gives us this Relation in the Second Book of his Hiſtory; whom I will endeavour to follow. When

When *Otho* govern'd *Rome*, both *Greece* and *Asia* were alarm'd with the Apprehensions of *Nero*'s being alive; many and different were the Stories of his death; some reporting, others believing he was yet living.

A Slave who came from *Pontus* in *Asia*, or (as others say) an *Italian* Free-Man, who could sing, and play on the Harp; which, with the Resemblance of his Face, did not a little serve to perswade the World he was the true *Nero*. He gathered many Fugitives, and Vagabonds, that knew not where to go, o'recome with Want and Poverty, to whom he made mighty Promises. Taking shipping with them, he was driven by a Storm on the Isle of *Cynthus*, or *Delos*; where the Mountain *Cynthus* was consecrated to *Apollo*, or to *Diana*. There he got more Souldiers, who were coming from the East; destroying those who refused his Service. He plundered all the Merchants in the Island, giving Arms to the most vigorous Slaves he could find. But he try'd by all possible means, to gain *Sisenna*, a Centurian in the *Syrian* Army, and sent part of that Army to *Rome*, to make a Treaty of Union with the *Pretorian Cohorts*, or Regiment of the Guards; carrying with them,

them, for the Symbole of that Unity they desired, the Figure of Right Hands joyn'd together. This Captain he try'd so many ways to make of his Party, as obliged him to steal privately out of the Island, for avoiding the Violence and Danger that threatned him. These Proceedings carried the Terrour and Fear of the supposed *Nero* very far; many unquiet Minds taking this occasion of disturbance; some through the desire of Novelty, others in dislike of the present Government, dispersing the News of *Nero*'s Return.

The Emperour *Galba* had given the Government of *Galatia* and *Pamphilia*, to *Calpurnius Asprenas*, and two Gallies were ordered to conduct him. These casting Anchor near this Island, the Impostor much desired to be Master of; which, not being able to effect openly, he try'd to accomplish by Art; and putting himself into a small Vessel, not knowing any thing of a *Roman* Governour, desired he might come on Board and transport himself into *Syria* or *Egypt*. Standing on the Prow of his Ship, looking sad and disconsolate, he admonished the Souldiers to think of the Oath of Fidelity, they had sworn to him heretofore. Then directing himself to the Pilots, they made some difficulty to receive him, saying,

They

They were not Masters, but would ask their Commander; doing this for an Amusement, that they might the better surprize him. They informed *Asprenas* of what had past, who considering the Vessel the Impostor was in, not to be of any great Force, immediately commanded to attack her; but he took her not without a smart dispute, the false *Nero* Valiantly fighting till he dyed. His Body, remarkable for his fine Hair, and great Eyes, but above all, for the Fierceness of his Countenance, was carried to *Asia* and *Rome*, where it lay expos'd to every ones Admiration, and to consider his Insolence, that durst attempt to usurp the greatest Emprire of the World.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

THE False MESSIAS, CALLED Benchochab, Head of the Revolted Jews.

Adrian having ſucceeded *Trajan* the Emperour, in the 4080th Year of the World, and of *Jeſus Chriſt*, the 118th, found the ſame Diſpoſitions of Revolting in the minds of the *Jews*, that his Predeceſſors had done. So he recall'd *Jul. Severus* from *Britain*, who was reputed one of the Wiſeſt, and moſt Valiant Captains of his time, in the *Roman* Empire; and him the Emperor ſent into *Syria*, to quell the Mutineers: But he found them ſo well on their Guards, and ſo ſtrongly fortified, as made him avoid coming to a Battle, or hazarding his Troops unequally, againſt ſuch deſperate Vagabonds.

bonds. Therefore ſpent time, and prolonged the War; which gave the Jews opportunity to augment their Strength.

The better to increaſe their Army, and heighten their Courage, they took Religion for a pretence; the Head of the Seditious calling himſelf the *Meſſiah*; and to make the nearer Alluſion to the Prophecy in the 24th of *Numbers*, where the great Legiſlator (*Moſes*) ſays, *A Star ſhall come out of* Jacob, he took the Name of *Benchochab*, *Son of the Star*, or (as ſome will) *Barcochab*; but 'tis all one: for *Ben* and *Bar* both ſignifie a *Son*. This *Impoſtor* poſſeſt, for ſix years together, fifty Caſtles beſides four hundred and eighty Towns and Villages. He fortified ſo ſtrongly the Caſtle of *Bethoron*, ſituated by the Tribes of *Benjamin*, and *Ephraim*; which Caſtle *Solomon* choſe to make a ſtrong Fortreſs, that it held a Siege of three years and a half. The Emperour *Adrian* coming in perſon againſt it; 'tis hardly to be believed what Reſiſtance the Beſieged made, how many Sallies, and what Blood was ſpilt: We find written, that three hundred thouſand *Jews* were ſlain, beſides vaſt numbers who periſht by Plague, and Hunger; 'Tis ſaid to the number of 500000 Men, if we may believe *Carion*'s Chronicle. *Bencochab* was kill'd in a Sal-

ley,

ley, after whose Death *Bethoron* was taken. The *Jews*, instead of *Bencochab*, call him *Benscosba*, or the *Son of Deceit*, having falsly call'd himself the *Messiah*. The Emperour writ excellent Letters on this occasion, of his Victory, as equal with the greatest had ever been obtained, since it gave Peace to all the East. This Impostor had such an inveterate hatred to the Christians, that all those who fell under his power, he put to cruel Deaths.

The Emperour *Adrian*, having razed the City of *Jerusalem*, resolved to rebuild it, calling it *Elia Adriana*; he forbad entrance into it, or habitation there, to the *Jews*; but allowed both to the Christians.

Thus ended this Impostor, who did just contrary to the true *Messiah*, whose Name he usurpt, viz. *Led the people into Servitude and Misery.*

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

THE Counterfeit MOSES.

IN the time of *Theodosius* the Emperour, who Reigned from the year 412, until 454, a wicked *Jewish* Impostor appeared in *Candia*, calling himself *Moses*; promising the *Jews*, who were in great numbers in that Insulary Kingdom, he would lead them through the Sea on foot, without the help of Ships, into their old Country *Judea*, as he had formerly done their Fathers, in the time of *Pharaoh* King of *Ægypt*, and by the same means, deliver them from Servitude; that he had already done it, in the year of the World 2454, being 2050 years before this Counterfeit appeared; the present Story happening in the 4420th year of the World.

He further perswaded them, he was the same Prophet *Moses*, whom *God* had sent from Heaven, to be their Guide. He went about the Island for a year together, inculcating

cating these Perswasions into the People, and assign'd them a certain Day to begin their Journey. He pretended to prophecy, and gathered Money on all hands; and at the day appointed, led Multitudes of People to the Sea-side; where commanding several to leap in, their Folly and Blindness was so great, to obey him; many of them being swallowed by the Waters: and if some Fisher-men had not been near, and charitably saved several with their Barques, calling to those on the Shore, not to venture, they had many of them perisht, who by their means were saved. The Impostor escapt, and I find not what became of him; but his Villany opened the Eyes of many of those poor People, who embraced the Christian Religion.

Socrates a Greek Author, writes this History.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

John Bulchold,

KING of the Anabaptists.

THE Conformity of this Impostor, with those two preceding, perswades me to break the Order of Time I had prescribed my self. This Wretch, of whom the last Age talkt so much, was a *Hollander*, born at *Leyden*, a Taylor by his Profession: He appear'd at *Munster* in the year 1534. and took the Name of *King of the Anabaptists*, saying, He was sent by God to Extirpate all other Princes, and Potentates of the Earth. *John Sleidan*, in his *Tenth Book of his History touching the State of Religion*, declares the Excess, Extravagance, and Cruelty of this *Impostor*. He caused two *Crowns* to be made of *massive Gold*, a Sword, a Chain, and Scepter, with other Jewels, and Marks of Royalty. He appeared in publick, accompanied with his Officers, and Gentlemen of his Court, having two

Pages on Horse-back; One carried his Crown, and a Bible; the Other, his Sword. He caused a Throne to be built in the most publick place, hung with Cloath of Gold, on which he sate, as in his Court of Justice. He created twelve Judges, to whom he gave so many Imaginary Kingdoms. He married several Women, who were dress like so many Queens. He sent twenty eight Disciples, Teachers of his Law, about the World, who were all executed and put to death, but one, who cunningly made his Escape. *Bernard Knipperdoling*, who before was first Consul, or Magistrate of the City, would needs be the Executioner: He committed many Cruelties, and Extravagancies, and the King as many in his turn, beheading People himself, not sparing one of his Wives, who was grieved to see the Miseries, the poor People endured by the extremity of Famine, the City being besieged by *Francis* Count of *Waldeck*, their Bishop, assisted by the Circles of the Empire.

His False Doctrine was, To deny Infants Baptism: To Rebaptize those who had been so already: To have all things in common: To *marry* several *wives*: He denied that *Jesus Christ* took Humane Nature from the Virgin *Mary*: He denied the Pardon of Sinners,

ners, aboliſht Magiſtracy, took Others Goods by Force, and Extirpated thoſe who believed not his Fooliſh Doctrine.

The 24th of *June* 1535. the City was taken by the skill of two Fugitives, who did that good Service for the Biſhop, and the Beſiegers. *John Bulchold*, the Impoſtor King, *Bernard Knipperdoling*, both Magiſtrate and Hangman, and *Crechtineh*, were all three Executed the 25th of *Junnary* 1536. being torn to pieces with Red-hot Pincers. *Bulchold* repented, and implored the Mercy of God. Their Bodies were bound in Iron-Frames, and hung on the higheſt Tower of the City; the pretended King being placed in the middle, a mans heighth above the reſt.

CHAP. VI.

THE False Clotaire, CALLED GONDOALD.

THis Impoſtor appeared a ſecond time in *France*, under the Kings of the firſt Race, in the year 586. calling himſelf the *Son of Clotaire*, the firſt King of *Soiſſons*, and by conſequence Grandſon to *Clovis the Great*.

I will obſerve what two Hiſtorians ſay of him; thoſe are, *Robert Guaguin*, and *Paulus Æmilius*, both having writ the Hiſtory of *France*. His Mother Educated him from a Child, like the Son of a King; above all things preſerving his Hair, which was a Mark of the Royal Family, among the Old *French-men*. *Clotaire* his pretended Father would not own him when his Mo-

ther

ther brought him to *Soissons*; which perswades me, that he was illegitimate: But *Childebert*, his Uncle, King of *Paris*, who had no Child, took pity of him, and bred him in his Court; At which *Clotaire* was angry, and writ to him in these terms.

Send back to me Gondoald, *that I may take care of him my self, and breed him up, if I find him my Son: for if he be not, the Education of a Prince, which you give him, may be the occasion of Errour, and Illusion, in the World, who may shew him those Honours, which are not his due.*

Clotaire, when he had him in his power, shaved his Head, and shut him up in a Monastery. This pretended Father dying in the year 564. *Cherebert*, or *Childebert*, King of *Paris*, his elder Brother, took a Kindness to him, and was careful of him for some time: But *Cherebert* was an Effeminate Prince, abandoning himself to Debauchery and Women, which extreamly altered his Health; so that *Gondoald*'s Happiness had but a short date: For after the Death of this generous Brother of *Clotaire*, which was in the year 565. *Sigebert*, another of his Brothers, King of *Austrasia*, the Country which is now called *Lorrain*, sent for him to his Court, without saying, how he intended to treat him, and leaving him

altogether in uncertainty; which he nevertheless construed to his own advantage. And this unhappy man no sooner arrived at the Court, but he shaved him a second time, and put him into a Monastery at *Collein*: So that finding himself thus tost about, he made an Escape, and fled into *Italy*; where *Narses*, that famous Eunuch, General of the Emperour *Justinian*'s Army, with admirable success, made War against the *Goths*. This was no small advantage to *Gondoald*, to make a Friendship with one of the most Valiant and most Illustrious Captains mentioned in History. *Totila*, that Generous and Magnanimous King of the *Ostrogoths*, whom *Belisarius*, the indefatigable General for the same *Justinian*, could not entirely overcome, lost both his Diadem and his Life, by the Conduct of this Little Old Man of three Cubits stature, who wanted one of the most Essential Parts of a Man.

I will onely use the words of *Paulus Jovius*, in his *Elogies of Illustrious men*, speaking of him; *Narses*, says he, *deserves an Admiration extraordinary, and above all other men; who being born a Slave in* Persia, *and bred in the Seraglio or Apartment of the Empresses Women, being but half a Man, deprived of that Part which both Sexes most va-*

lue;

lus, became the Imperial Treasurer, and was the only accomplisht General, not only for all Military Vertue, but likewise for his good Fortune, whoever suffered so great a Deprivation: E tanta erepta virilitatis calamitate unicus prope cum Virtute, tum fortuna Imperator extiterit. It had been incomparably a greater Advantage, if *Gondoald* could have been with this Captain, in the heighth of his Favour: for at that time, *viz.* in the year 566. *Justin* the Second succeeded his Maternal Grandfather, the Emperour *Justinian*, who extreamly loved *Narses*, for his Merit, and the good Service he had done him; having Extirpated two powerful Kings of the *Ostrogoths*, *Totila* and *Teias*, and defeated an Army of Seventy two thousand *Frenchmen*, commanded by one *Bucelin*, General for *Theodobert*, King of *Mets*. *Gornandes*, Archbishop of *Ravenna*, and born a *Goth*, is mistaken in his History, when he reckons Two hundred thousand men kill'd, and attributes the Victory to *Belisarius*.

Some time after *Gondoald*'s Arrival, the Empress *Sophia*, perswaded by the Enemies of *Narses*'s Glory, recalled him into *Italy*, and also treated him with great Scorn and Contempt; saying, *He was fitter to distribute Wooll to her Women, and to the Maids of her Seraglio to spin, than to command an Army,*

Army. Which Expressions he so much resented, that he called *Alboin* his Friend, King of the *Lombards*, out of *Hungary*, to come into *Italy*; who made such a Progress there, that this most wise Empress was not able to put a stop to. *Gondoald* hoped considerable Assistance from *Alboin*, with which he designed to take from his Brothers, *Sigebert*, *Chilperic*, and *Gontran*, who bore the Titles of Kings of *Metz*, *Paris*, and *Orleans* (the Cities where they lived, and kept their Courts) a more considerable Kingdom, than either of them possest. *Narses* being naturally Merciful, and Religious, was perswaded by the Entreaty of Pope *John* the Third, who came to meet him at *Naples*, how pernicious the consequence must be, of *Alboin*'s coming into *Italy*, and conjured him to countermand and hinder it all he could. When the *Pope* and he were returned to *Rome*, and considering how they might remedy this Misfortune, *Narses* died, whose *body* was carried to *Constantinople*, and there magnificently buried.

Gondoald, after this Accident, crossed the Sea, and made his Court to the Emperour *Justin*, and the Empress *Sophia* his Wife, an Ambitious and Airy Princess: His good Meen and Intriguing Humour made him extreamly considered in that Court. *Ve-*

nera-

nerationem sibi ac Majestatem conciliarunt; says *Paulus Æmilius*. He remained at *Constantinople* all the time of *Justin* the Second, a pusillanimous Prince, who suffered his Wife to govern the Empire, contrary to his Honour and Interest.

During the Reign of *Tiberius*, which was seven years, he made several Campaigns in the Wars of *Persia*, under *Mauritius*, who was after chosen Emperour, and Successor to *Tiberius*: for *Gondoald* dared not to venture himself in the Court of *France*, where he had been so ill treated, having many sad Examples of his Relations Cruelty, even to their own Blood. *Clotaire*, his Father, without Pity or Mercy, burnt *Cramnus* or *Granus*, his own Son, with his Wife, and Children, in a House where they Fled for Refuge: He overcame & kill'd in Battle *Senabut*, Duke of *Britain*; He Burnt *Gonobald*, Duke of *Guienne*, in the Chappel of S. *Martin*, where he ran for Safety; because he had assisted *Granus*, in his Revolt; to whom he Married his Daughter.

This *Clotaire* also was Guilty of that abominable *parricide*, of *dipping* his *hands* in the Innocent Blood of his two young Nephews, *Theobald* and *Gontier*, Sons of *Cladomir*, his Brother, King of *Orleans*. *Gondoald*, considering he had little Reason to expect a better

ter Treatment from his Fathers Brothers, *Sigebert* and *Chilperic*, chose rather to Live quietly in *Justin*'s Court: But when he was Informed how matters went in *France*, he resolved to hasten thither, encouraged by the Empress *Constantina*, and the Emperour *Mauritius*, Son-in-Law to *Tiberius*; who promis'd him their Assistance. His two Sisters-in-Law, *Brunechilde*, the Daughter of *Athanagilde*, King of the *Wisigoths* in *Spain*, Married to his Brother *Sigebert*, and *Fredegonde*, Woman of the Bed-chamber to the Queen *Galsond*, Wife to *Chilperic*, his other Brother, King of *Paris*, who first became Mistress, and then Wife to that King. These two Women disturbed all *France*; Their Husbands having been Traitorously Murthered, which was the occasion of his Return, after having been Twenty Years in the East. He Landed at *Marseilles*, with a splendid Equipage; where *Theodore*, Bishop of that Diocess, received him with much Honour, it being reported he brought Vast Riches along with him, and was able to give great Rewards, having made the best Advantage of his Happiness in the Eastern Court; besides the finding a mighty Treasure, hid by *Narses* the Eunuch. His Royal Qualities, and Majestick Person, were admired;

The Fame of his Actions having gain'd him the Reputation of a good Captain, & Scholler, to the Incomparable General *Narses*. *Didier*, who absolutely Commanded the Countrys adjacent, to *Tholouse*; *Mummol*, much talkt of for his Service in the Wars againſt the *Greeks* and *Lombards*, and thought one of the beſt Souldiers in his time, (beſides many Lords both *Viſigothes*, and *Romans*, who kept the Frontiers of *Spain*) declared for him. Thus having acquir'd ſuch powerful Friends, and reduced to his Obedience, a great part of the People, and Cities of *Guienne*, the *Peregordins*, and *Bourdelois*, thoſe of *Tholouſe* and *Anjou*, followed his Fortune.

Childebert, King of *Mets*, the Nephew of *Gondoald*, was then angry with his Uncle *Gontran*, King of *Orleans*, for refuſing to deliver into his hands, his Mother-in-Law, Queen *Fredegonde*, the Murtheress of King *Sigebert* his Father; which reaſon perſwaded him to declare for *Gondoald*, ſending him Ambaſſadors, and ſtiling him *King*, to give him the more Majeſty, for the obtaining the Hearts of the *French*; adviſing him to take the Name of *Clotaire*, his Father. The occaſion of *Gontrans* refuſing to deliver to him the Queen *Fredegonde*, was, that young King *Clotaire* the Second, her Son, was under

der his Tutelage; and he thought it below a Generous Prince, to give up the Mother of him, whom he intended to make his Successor. *Gontran* was a Prince extreamly Good, Pious, and Charitable: I can find no other Reason, why he prefer'd *Clotaire* his Nephew, who was but Four Months Old, when his Father *Chilperic*, was Assassinated by the Infidelity of *Fredegande* his Wife; *Gondoald*, having before so much cause to doubt whether *Clotaire* were Lawfully begot or no, his Mother being of a very scandalous Life, in her Husbands time, abandoning her self to the Maire or Stewards of the Pallace, *Landry de la Tour*. Unless he thought the Decision of the Laws sufficient, that *Filius est quem nuptiæ demonstrant*; That Child is Legitimate who is Born of a Woman who hath a Husband. He hoped to give good Impressions to the young Prince, being like soft Wax, capable of any he would make. But *Gondoald*'s Humour he extreamly apprehended, for his fierceness, and resentment of the usage he received in his younger Days. That Divine Quality, so Admirable in a Prince, to forget Injuries received, when 'tis in his Power to Revenge them, never having been exercised by *Clotaire* his Father, who always prefer'd his own private Resentments. This made him not

not acknowledge *Gondoald*, that came from the Court of *Constantinople*, when the Grecian Artifices, Treachery, and Cruelty, were much in use.

The Affection, and tenderness he had for the Innocent Child, prevail'd over his aversion to the Vices, and conduct of *Fredegonde* his Mother. *Raymond*, Bishop of *Paris*, a Person of an Exemplary Life, first spoke to the good King, in favour of this young Prince; he having before, saved *Fredegonde* from the Fury of the People, inraged by the Death of their King *Chilperic*; of which she and her *Gallant Landry*, were shrewdly suspected, he giving her with her Son, and Treasure, refuge in his Church. The Merciful King continued his Clemency to his Death, which happened the 28th. of *March*, 594. Still assisting the Queen, with his Councel and Protection; He perswaded her by his remonstrances, with the fear and respect she had to offend him, to Live a more retir'd Life; He caused what the Courtiers, and Domesticks of his Brother *Chilperic*, had unjustly taken from several particular Persons, to be restored; He did many Favours to the Church, making those dues to be paid, which *Chilperic* had suppresst, or diverted; and largly assisting the Poor. All which he had reason to believe,

Gondoald

Gondould would not do, being greedy of Money, wanting all the Treasure he could get to recompence his Creatures, and support the Luxury he had Learnt at *Constantinople*. I will not stop to relate the *Encomiums*, which *Gregory* of *Tours*, and *Fredegarius*, in their Chronicles give this King *Gontran*; only say, it was the greatest misfortune, or if you please, an effect of Gods Judgment, to want his protection, and be rejected by him. Though *Gondould* did all he could to obtain his Favour; He chose two Priests of *Cahors* (as *Guaguin* Relates) of the most Pious he could find, hoping for that quality they would be well received by his Brother King *Gontran*, he gave them his Letters, written on Tablets cover'd with Wax, and Directed to the chief Men of *France*. These Priests were surprized by *Gontrans* People, who understood by the Contents, and the Confession of the Bearers, what *Gondoulds* Thoughts, and Correspondence intended.

He left not off for this misfortune, but persisted in his indeavours, to gain the kindness of *Gontran*; He sent Ambassadors to him, carrying *Olive* Branches, that with the Symbole of Peace they might pass every where, and get admittance; Being brought to his Presence, after he had demanded

manded their Names and Country, they made this Speech.

We are come towards your Majesty from Gondoald *the Son of* Clotaire, *who with Justice demands a part of his Inheritance, which if your Majesty refuse, he is resolved to do himself Right by force of Arms: He has already a numerous Army in* Guienne, *and* Childebert *will joyn him with considerable Troops.* Gontran was so displeased with their Discourse, that he violated the Law of Nations, ignominiously using the Ambassadors, causing them to be tied with their Bellies to two Horses, and whipt through the Streets. The Persons of Ambassadors have always been Sacred, they came desiring Peace, and carryed the Symbole of it. The Renowned *Eneas* received the first marks of Friendship in *Italy*.

Jamque Oratores aderant ex urbe Latina,
Velati ramis Oliæ.

Antiquity allowed none but the Gods to use it, and their right devolved to Kings, who are their Images; for which reason, as a Note of Dignity it was called *Jus Regium*. The Injuries received by Ambassadors have ever been esteemed done to the Persons that sent them; all Nations agreeing

to Revenge a common injury. *Si Civis Pulsatus actio est Injuriarum, si Magistratus Majestatis, si Legatus bello & Jure gentium agetur.*

It is no wonder, after this Procedure of *Gontran*, if they both made War with the extremity of violence. *Paulus Æmilius*, in an excellent Stile, writes of the dismal Examples of Wars Domestick and Foreign; Civil Wars filling the minds of Men, with Distractions. But *Gontran* soon delivered his Subjects from those Alarms, by adopting *Childebert* for his Heir, who was a Young Ambitious Prince, desirous to augment his Dominion. The Good Old Man had no Children Legitimate, nor natural, so chose this way to make him depend, in hopes of the Succession.

Gontran called an Assembly, or *Parliament*, to Celebrate this Solemn Action, of Adopting his Nephew *Childebert*, the better to seperate his Interest from *Gondoald*. I can hardly believe what *Guaguin*, the famous Author that writes the cruel affront done to *Gondoalds* Ambassadors, reports; which is, that he made them be brought into this Assembly, and shew their Commissions, as they had done to him already, where they owned and confirmed the Truth of the Report, had been discoursed before; which was, that *Gondoald* had robbed the Prince

Rigonde, Daughter of the Deceased King *Chilperic*, taking away her Money, and Jewels, as she went to her new Husband in *Spain*: And that some of *Childeberts* Courtiers were in the Action, who absconded from the Assembly on that Occasion. However *Gontran* proceeded to effect what he intended, Adopting his Nephew *Childebert*, and using certain ceremonies, presenting the point of a Lance to his Breast, giving him advice to make his Kingdom Flourish, and at the same time, Restoring those Towns and Places, his Uncle *Chilperic* had taken from him.

The Allies of *Gondoald*, *Didier*, *Mommol*, *Landase*, *Valden*, and *Sagittaire* Bishop of *Gap*, a Turbulent Man, who had been Banisht from his Diocess, being Informed of the Agreement between the Uncle and the Nephew, and knowing that by this Adoption, he would quit the Interest of *Gondoald*, resolved all to do so at the same time; Yet his unhappiness made him not loose Courage, he retired to *Comminges* beyond the River of *Dordogne*, caressing the Citizens, Living Familiarly with them, and making great Protestations of Friendship, he perswaded them to carry all their Riches into the Castle, for fear of loosing them, if the Town were Besieged, but the Castle he

esteemed Impregnable. Sometime after, making them believe that the Enemy was near, he caused them to take Arms, opening the Gates, and incouraging them to make a Sally; but as soon as they were gone, he shut them out, driving their Bishop after them, because he was of the contrary Party. The Lords, of whom we spoke, still kept fair with him, though they intended to leave him, they had not yet broken all measures.

This place was so strongly scituated, and so well provided of all things, that *Gontran* dispaired to take it by force, and therefore had recourse to an Artifice; he perswaded the Queen *Brunethilde*, Mother-in-Law of *Childebert*, whom he had newly Adopted, to write to *Gondoald*, as if she were still for his Interest, advising him to leave that Place, and strengthen himself in *Bourdeaux*, which was the Metropolis of a great Country, and had an excellent Harbour; perswading him to carry his Treasure with him. *Gondoald* was deceived by her, whom he believed advised him heartily. It was a strange oversight to trust a Woman, and of so ill Fame. However he sent his Equipage, with his Money and other Treasure to *Bourdeaux*. But the Men whom *Gontran* had laid in Ambush beyond the River *Gironde*, ealed

eased his Mules of their Burthen, and carrying off this Rich Booty, rejoyn'd the Army which Marched strait to *Convinges*.

Landegesille, General of *Gontrans* Army, Invented a sort of Chariots covered with large Oziers, which defended those that digged *Mines*, for the better taking the Town; they also cut down great quantities of Wood in the Forrest there abours, and endeavoured to fill the Ditch. The Besieged on the other side, with Boats, great Stones, Pitch, and firebrands, endeavouring to burn the Wood, and hurt the Besiegers. These attacks taking small effect, *Landegesille* Tryed another way to accomplish his Designe, he desired to speak with *Momol*, and giving him a Friendly reproof, for quitting the Service, and interests of King *Gontran*, to assist *Gondoald*, assured him if he would cause the Town to fall into the Power of the King his Master, he would for certain liberally acknowledge that Service, and pardon all that was past. *Momol* desired time to consider this Proposal, and declared it to the Bishop *Sagittaire*, *Landase*, and *Valden* his intimate Friends, shewing them the eminent danger they were in, if the place should fall by force into the Power of *Gontran*, and that therefore they ought to think of their safety. They all

gave attention to *Mamol's* advice, and followed it; Resolving to fire a Church, and while the People should run to quench it, take that opportunity to deliver one of the Gates, and receive *Landegesille* into the Town. They made *Carulfe* their confident, who was one of the richest Citizens there, and their Landlord. After this Resolution taken, and the Day pitched upon, on which the Church was to be burnt, and the Town to be delivered to *Landegesille*, *Mamol* went privately to *Landegesille*, and shewed him the places where his Men should enter, provided he kept his word, and promise with him, and obtained him the Kings Favour. *Landegesille* overjoyed to take so strong a place, and save the effusion of more Blood, confirmed all he had said with an Oath, and that at least if he could not immediately gain the Kings Pardon, he would, in the mean time, procure him a Church for his refuge, till he had compassed his Mercy. Things being thus agreed, *Mamol* changed his Intention of burning the Church, and went to *Gondoald* with great deceit, and artifice, assuring him that his Fidelity, and zeal to serve him, were not in any sort diminished; which obliged him to represent, the deploreable Condition his affairs were reduced to, from which he could

could conjecture no hope; That this had perſwaded him to ſound the Inclination of *Landegeſille*, whom he found extreamly well diſpoſed to ſerve him, and to indeavour a good Peace between him and King *Gontran*, his Brother; That nothing ſhookt him more, than to perceive he had not that Truſt and Confidence he deſired, in the Tenderneſs and Generoſity of the King, and that if he could have ſo good an Opinion, without difficulty to meet *Landegeſille*, he did not doubt to give him all ſatisfaction imaginable; *And*, continued he, *'Tis my Opinion, that you ſhould deliver your ſelf from all theſe Miſeries and troubles, and let us go together to King Gontran.* *Gondoald* diſtruſted the Fraudulent Diſcourſe of *Mommol*, yet ſo great was his Unhappineſs, he did not give himſelf Power to help it, believing it impoſſible, to avoid the Malice and Treaſon of thoſe Perſons, he had ſo long truſted and confided in.

While theſe things were agitating; *Landaſe*, one of the Conſpirators againſt the unhappy *Gondoald*, put Fire to the Church, and while the People ran to quench it, went ſecretly out of Town where *Boſo*, and *Bolon*, Count of *Bourges*, ſtood ready with their Men before the Gates, to ſeize *Gondoald*, as ſoon as he ſhould be delivered to

them; which *Momol*, being the stronger Man, did not fail to do, & gave the wretched *Gondoalt* into his Power, he re-entring the Town immediately, and causing the Gates to be shut. The Prisoner, *Gondoalt*, was abused by the Souldiers that Guarded him, who carryed him to a Descent between the Town, and the Camp of the Besiegers. *Beton*, one of the Generals, tumbled him down the Hill, and *Boson* barbarously knockt out his Brains, as he rowled to his Feet. So dyed this Unhappy Prince, or this bold Impostor, who persisted to mount the Throne of *France*, in spight of those who had Power to grant him that Advantage.

Momol did not prosper in his Treason and Avarice; for while he plundred the Equipage and Mony of *Gondoalt*, pillaged and fined the Citizens, the Souldiers of the Army, inraged at their losses before the Town, through the long and vigorous Resistance of the Inhabitants, forced the Gates, and put all to Fire and Sword, without distinction of Age or Sex. The Walls were razed, and the City intirely Burnt. *Momol* thinking he had done great Service by his Conduct, came to the General *Lendegesille* his Quarter; who commanded him to go out of his Tent, and retire some where else, till the Souldiers rage against his Person,

son, was appeased: He perceived, if he went out, he should dye, the incensed *Souldiers* flock't about him, giving him reviling Language; therefore he resolved to defend himself so long as he was able, and sell his Life dearly. The General being throughly Informed of the Kings Pleasure, who commanded that he should have no Quarter, made a Signe for the Souldiers to dispatch him: *Mommol* valiantly defending himself a great while, fought like a Lyon; but could not avoid falling under such a Multitude, all covered with wounds; so receiving the reward of his double Treasons. And for the Bishop *Sagittaire*, a Souldier perceiving him Fly, cut off his Head with his Sword, not knowing who he was. The Riches *Mommol* had gotten, were carried to *Gontran*, where he found a Thousand Pound weight of Gold, in that Coyn which they called *Besans*, and 250 Pound of Silver. *Gontran* giving a good part of it to the Poor, divided the rest, with his Nephew *Childebert*. Among the Spoyls of *Mommol*, there was seen a Gyant three foot higher than ordinary Men, as *Robert Guagnin*, from whom I have taken great part of this Story, says. After this *War*, according to *Paulus Æmilius*, the *Limosins*, those of *Quercy*, and *Auvergne*, received Earls for their Governors.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

THE Counterfeit Baldwin, Earl of Flanders.

THis *Impostor* pretended to no less than the Empire of the *East*, with the Earldoms of *Flanders*, and *Haynault*. Zeal for the Christian Religion, and a Desire to drive the Infidels out of the *Holy-Land*, perswaded many generous Princes of Christendom, to forsake their Countrys, and expose their Lives in this Enterprize. Of which Number was *Theobald*, Count *Palatin* of *Champaigne*, (who dyed by the way); *Baldwyn*, Earl of *Flanders*; *Bonifface*, Marquis of *Mount-ferrat*; *Lewis*, Earl of *Blois*; *John*, Earl of *Brienne*, and *Guy* Earl of St. *Paul*; with the Bishops of *Soissons* and *Troys*. Pope *Innocent* the *Third*, of the House of *Sigma*, show'ring his Indulgences, and Incouragements on their design.

In

In the beginning of this War, (which was in the Year, 1203.) a Young *Grecian* Prince, of 23 years of Age, called *Alexis*, Implor'd the Assistance of these Christian *Argonautes*, while they were Besieging the City *Zara*, in *Dalmatia*, which the *Hungarians* possest, and they undertook in lieu of their expences at *Venice*, before their Departure. *Isaac Angelo*, of the House of *Commenes*, Emperor of *Constantinople*, was the Father of this Prince *Alexis*, and Father in-Law to *Philip*, Emperor of *Germany*, by his Daughter *Irene*. He was deposed from his *Empire*, deprived of his Sight & Liberty, by his only, (though unnatural, and ungratefull) Brother *Alexis*; to whom he had always shewn the Marks of a more than Brotherly kindness. After the taking of *Zara*, scituate through the Valour of the Confederates, to the Obedience of St. *Mark*'s Lyon, the Generous Warriors embarkt on 250 Ships, in which were 20000 Foot, and 8000 Horse. *Henry Dandali*, the *Doge* or Duke of *Venice*, though almost blinded by the cruelty of the *Grecian* Emperor *Emanuel Commenes*, who caused a burning Plate of Copper to be held to his Eyes, went in the Head of many Noble *Venetians*, perswaded by the same Zeal, which made them equip a Fleet for this Expedition.

They

They drove the Usurper *Alexis* from *Constantinople*, taking the old Emperor *Isaac* out of Prison, and Establishing him with his Son the young *Alexis* in the Throne. But the old Prince died in a few Days, not being able to suffer so great a change of Life and Fortune without a mortal Alteration of his Body thro' excess of Joy, for so unexpected a Felicity. A Villain called also *Alexis Ducas*, surnamed *Murzuphle*, from his large spread eyebrows, suddenly seiz'd the Person of young *Alexis*; and, after having twice made him swallow Poyson without effect, strangled him with his own hands, reporting he had destroy'd himself; when he had Reign'd Six Months, and Eight Days. The *French* and *Venetian* Army, by Land and Sea, continued in the Neighbourhood, expecting the effect of young *Alexis* Promises, which he not being able to perform in the time agreed on, too earnestly endeavouring to raise the Money, fell into the hatred of the People, and was thus deprived of his Diadem and Life. So bloody a Regicide deserved the Chastisement our Warriours intended him; who drawing their Army down, Besieged *Constantinople* for 72 Days. *Geofry de Vilhardouin*, writ the Story of this Siege, and the particular Actions of the *Heroes*. *Murzuphle* fled with his Treasures,

sures, abandoning the City, which was taken the 12th. of *April*, 1204.

The Princes, and other Lords, resolved to choose an Emperor amongst them: The Earl of *Flanders*, with the *Count of St. Paul*, named *Five*, to give their Suffrages: The *Marquis* of *Monsferrat*, and the Earl of *Savoy*, other five: The *Venetians* choosing the like Number: In all, 15 Voyces. The Plurality were for *Baldwyn*. This Prince was very powerful, and a Great Souldier; of which he had given many Proofs, in the Siege: He was Uncle, by the Mothers Side, to *Lewis*, design'd Successor to *Philip the August*, King of *France*. He was Crown'd by *Thomaso Morosini*, newly created Patriarch of *Constantinople*. *Boniface*, Marquis of *Monsferrat*, had from young *Alexis*, for a Recompence, the Island of *Candia*; which he sold the *Venetians*, for a great Sum of Money, and was nevertheless made King of *Thessaly*. *Godfry*, Lord of *Champagn*, was made Duke of *Athens*, and Prince of *Achaia*; *John*, Earl of *Brienne*, was sometime after made King of *Jerusalem*. *Baldwin* had scarcely possest this new Dignity a Year, before he went to Besiege *Adrianople*, three Days Journey from him, and possest by his Enemies, who very much annoyed him. That Success he had in the beginning, did

not

not accompany him in this Affair; since by the profound Secrets of the Divine Pleasure, being attackt with great Numbers of his Adversaries, *Greek* Fugitives, *Bulgarians*, and *Tartars*, he was defeated, and supposed to be kill'd in the Plaines of *Orestes*. *A nostris pro Mortuo deploratus est*, says *Paulus Emilius*; His Brother *Henry* Succeeding him in the Empire. This Disaster happened in the Year 1205, though some Chronologists antidate it, two or three Years.

Twenty Years after, This Famous *Impostor*, calling himself by the Name of the Emperour, appeared in *Flanders*: *Jane*, eldest Daughter of this *Baldwin*, by *Mary* the Daughter of *Henry* Earl of *Champagne*, was at that time Countess of *Flanders*, and Married to *Fernando*, Infant of *Portugal*. She had great Wars, her Husband having been taken Prisoner, at the Famous Battle of *Bovines*, which King *Philip the August*, gained over the Emperour *Otho* the 4th, in year 1214. And was long a Prisoner in the *Louvre* at *Paris*. Although this had been some Years past, she still felt her losses, and that great Consternation. *Robert* Son of *Peter de Courtenay*, Earl of *Auxerre*, and Prince of the Blood of *France*, and *Yolente* only Daughter and Inheritrix of the Emperour *Henry* Earl of *Flanders*, then possest that

Throne,

Throne, to which this *Impostor* pretended.

One would have thought, he should first have gone to the place, where he was taken Prisoner; but he could hope no assistance from the *Greeks*: On the contrary *Theodore Lascaris*, who resided at *Nice*, and always took upon himself the Title of *Emperour of Constantinople*, would have used him worse than the *Bulgarians*, if he had fallen into his hands. As for *Robert de Courtney*, whose Mother *Yolende*, was his pretended Niece; he was no ways inclin'd to yield him the Empire; he had too much difficulty in obtaining it. His Father, the Emperour *Peter*, falling into the Hands of *Theodore*, was cruelly put to Death by him: So that, this *Impostor* thought his Affairs would advance better, and he be more kindly received in his Native Country. The Earldome of *Haynault* was his first Inheritance; for this *Baldwin*, was Son to an Earl of *Haynault*, of the same Name, Sirnamed *The Magnanimous*, and of *Margaret* of *Alsace*, Heiress of *Flanders*. For this Reason he was joyfully received there, and with more satisfaction to those Martial People, who hated the Dominion of a Woman: Besides, it was Independant on the Kings of *France*. The *Flemings* received him very coldly, seeing but a small Train with him, nor would

would they own him for their Earl, or Emperour of Greece.

This *Impostor* affected an extraordinary Gravity in his Meine, the better to draw Veneration, and acquire the Majesty of an Emperour. The Countess *Jane* refused to see him; but was advised to interrogate him, for the better discovery of his Practises. The President of her Councel of State, summon'd him to appear, ask'd him many troublesome Questions, *Gravibus fatigare percontationibus ausus est*; and spoke to him in this manner:

If it be true, that you are the Earl Baldwin, *and assume not a False Title to the Empire of* Greece; *I demand of you, Why you have abandon'd your Subjects in that Country? Even those poor People, laden with Miseries, whom the Divine Providence, by the Suffrages of so many brave Men, had committed to your Protection? Why forsake you them in their greatest need of your Conduct and Care; having so many Generous, and Experienc'd Captains, to whom you owed the last and greatest Obligations for chusing you among the most principal Men in the World, to be their Chief, and for the Imperial Diadem upon your Head? Why have you thus neglected them, exposed to the rage of Barbarous Nations? For this reason, although you were the true* Baldwin,

we

we have sufficient Cause to dissemble our knowledge of you; sure then we shall not own you, who are but a false and a counterfeit Badlwin. Why, when the Affairs of all the East were laid on your shoulders, to be supported, and sustained by you; when they were in disorder, and left by your misfortune, have you feign'd to be dead, and conceal'd your being alive? What could you expect from so strange a Deceit? Or what could be the reason of such a supposition and imposture? If you would so long dwell among the Dead, why should we now believe you are alive, not having appear'd in any place these twenty years? And had you been what you pretend now, why did you not come in the time of Philip the Auguſt, your Brother in Law, (who Married Alix, one of your Sisters) and in the life time of so many persons of Honour, who might either have proved your Imposture, or authorized your Title? Why came you not sooner out of the Grave? In what darkness have you hid that Glorious Face, known to the whole World? And with what new one do you pretend to Enchant the eyes of Men, after so many years? I ask, if you believe your self, that we ought to give faith to a Man, who after so vast an Interval, shall say, I am the Emperor Baldwyn. Have we never seen nor heard, that there have been Impostors, who have falsly Usurpt the Quality

of Kings and Emperors? Haynault *has suffer'd many Revolutions and Calamities, since the departure of the true* Baldwyn: *And* Flanders *has done the same. We have all been oppress'd with misery; have you given us any assistance in our Wars, or any help in our Afflictions? Ought this Country to own you for their Prince, since in their troubles you have not consider'd them, who gave you Birth, and Nurs'd you in your tender years?*

This Man heard, with attention, these Remonstrances, shewing a great assurance and courage, speaking in his turn; but not as if he would answer these Reproaches, but reprove and condemn them; dissembling by this procedure, his boldness and grandure of mind; And told them "That "his Country-men and Subjects were more "Inhumane than his Enemies, that Fighting before *Adrianople*, for the glory of "that Country, which now disown'd him, "being over-power'd, and made Prisoner "by the unequal number of his Enemies, "as often arrives in the chance and fortune of War; yet notwithstanding he "had not suffer'd so much Contempt, nor "so extraordinary Opprobry, either by reason of the Majesty of his Person and "Name, or else in consideration of his Subjects in *Flanders*, but was kept and main-

tain'd

pain'd moderately; till by length of time, his Guards were not so strict, but he found an opportunity to save himself, by the extraordinary favour of Heaven: And that returning to his Country, he had been retaken by other Barbarians, who did not know him, nor to whom he did not discover himself; they carryed him into *Asia*, and sold him like a miserable Slave, sold him to the *Syrians*, where he drew two years in a Barn, with other Captives, sometimes driving the Plow, and breaking the Clods of Earth with those hands with which he had held the Scepter, till during a Truce between the *Christians* and the *Barbarians* of *Asia*, some *German* Merchants Travelling by the place where he was at work, he spoke to them in the *German* Tongue, and made himself known to them, telling them his unhappy and miserable Adventures; who bought him at a common price. And that now after this good fortune, his own Subjects affronted him, to as neither the Greeks nor the Inhabitants of *Thrace*, their cruel Neighbours the *Scythians*, nor the *Barbarians* of Syria, had ever used him. As to *Flanders*, it was never more happy, nor more flourishing, than when he possest

"the dignity of Earl. Their glory had ne-
"ver been greater at home nor abroad,
"than when they own'd him for their
"Prince. He always ſtil'd himſelf *Auguſt*,
"*Choſen or Elect of God*, and uſed a Seal of
"maſſive Gold. He termed them ungrate-
"ful Subjects, and Country-men, to re-
"proach him with provoking queſtions,
"after having ſuffer'd ſo many Vexations
"and Miſeries: Surely they had changed
"their Inclination, and degenerated from
"the Virtue and Juſtice of their Fathers,
"by whom he was made Sovereign and
"Emperor of *Greece*, and had made and
"given Laws to all the People of the Eaſt.
"But he wondred not that *Flanders* had
"fallen into all theſe diſorders, and had re-
"nounced the good and commendable qua-
"lities of their Fathers, to embrace thoſe
"which were new and pernicious; that on
"the contrary, in his Government, they
"were extraordinary flouriſhing. He
would have continued ſpeaking much
longer, and made them greater Reproaches,
if the Lord Treaſurer, who was alſo Preſi-
dent of the Counſel, had not broke it up;
ſaying, It was not fit for them to conclude
any thing in Affairs of that Importance,
without knowing the good pleaſure and de-
termination of their Counteſs. This Prin-

ceſs

ceſs had an extream averſion to this Pretender, whether it might not be becauſe ſhe really thought *Baldwyn* her Father was dead; but ſhe effectively ſent into *Greece*, *John* Biſhop of *Mutelan*, (that, without doubt, which is now called the Iſle of *Mytelene*) and *Albert*, a Religious man of the Order of St. *Bennet*, both of the *Greek* Nation, to enquire and inform themſelves, if *Baldwyn* were dead or alive: The *Annals*, or *Hiſtories* of *Flanders*, written by *Jacobus Meyer*, *Adrianus Barlandus*, and others, which furniſh me with the greateſt part of this Story, obſerve; That it was not certainly known, whether in the unhappy Battel of *Adrianople* he was kill'd or taken, only that he could not be found; but theſe two Envoys were upon the place, and being Arrived in *Bulgaria*, they made ſo exact an enquiry, that they were inform'd of his being taken by *John*, King of that Country, and was by his order carryed to the Queen his Wife, to the Town of *Cernoa*; who following the nature of an inrag'd *Barbarian*, cruelly put him to death, chopping his Limbs to pieces, and throwing them to the Fowls of the air. *Meyer* writes theſe circumſtances in the 8th. Book of his Annals of *Flanders*.

Besides she that had been accustomed to command, and had long been Mistress, must needs think with much grief, of delivering the Sovereign Power to another, of which she had so long thought she should never be deprived, but by Death. Notwithstanding all this, a great part of the Flemish Nobility received this Man for their Soveraign, and Emperor of the East, and submitted to his Obedience; and the more readily by his subtilty in Authorizing their Cognizance of him, and the Veneration they had to his Person, by his telling them their Names and Extractions, which he readily did to a great part of the Nobility of *Flanders*, with the glorious Actions of their Ancestors; shewing their Arms, Blasons, and Devices of their Families, and all their Genealogies. He understood the Countrey very well, having lived several years a Hermit in the Forrest of *Glaucone*, near *Valenciennes*. He appeared in a strange habit, like the *Armenians*, wearing a great ruffled beard. The common People, who being Ignorant, and love Novelty, believed his Impostures; and the rather, for his being of the same Stature, and having several features, like the true *Baldwyn*. He found himself so well assisted, that he designed to seize the Countess *Jane*, and wanted very

little of ſurprizing her in *Quenoy*; but ſhe was fled to a ſtrong Caſtle, and had ſent Ambaſſadors to *Lewis* the 8th. King of *France* for aſſiſtance. The Hiſtorian *Guaguin* (who was a Subject of this Princeſs, and born at *Preaven* near *Caſſel*, and gives her the Character of a very Wiſe Princeſs) ſays, ſhe came in Perſon to the King for ſuccour, againſt the Inſolence of this unknown Impoſtor, intreating his Favor and Aſſiſtance in this Conjuncture, as Soveraign of *Flanders*, and ſhe one of the Nobles Feudatories of the Crown of *France*; to which ſhe was ſo nearly related. The King came as far as *Campagne*, where he appointed the Impoſtor to meet him, who came extraordinarily accompanied: He was Cloath'd in Scarlet, having a white ſtaffe in his hand: When he was Introduced to the King, he ſaluted him very ſlightingly; to whom the King ſaid; *I know not in what manner I ſhould Salute you, nor what Title to give you*: Baldwin, *Earl of* Flanders *and* Haynault, *was my Uncle, and a moſt* Generous *Prince*; *He was alſo Emperour of* Greece: *Whoſe Death I have lamented, when I was in my Youth. When firſt the unhappy News arrived, his Son* Henry, *a Valiant Prince, ſucceeded him in the Empire, and his Eldeſt Daughter* Jane, *in his Earl-*

dom of Flanders. *Their Country holds of me, and is a Feudatory of my Crown, as the Earl is a Peer of my Kingdom. I wish, I could alter the Course of Nature, and that what has happened, had not been; that my dear Uncle, the Father of my Cousin-German, whose Name and Memory is of admirable Veneration in* Greece, *could return to Life. But I cannot lightly be perswaded, from the belief I have of his death, and the report which hath been confirmed, through the course of so many Years: Most humane things, especially Empires, subsist by the Testimony of men. Tell me then, for whom you would be received? If for my Uncle, shew it us, by some authentick proof; and because the thing is unexpected, it will be so much the more agreeable, and give me transports of joy and satisfaction; when I am convinced I have wept for my Uncle without cause, and for a false Opinion; whilst he that I should Reverence like a Father, is restor'd to me. I am glad that a few short questions will make your self judge, and witness in your own Cause, which the World must needs know, is of the greatest Importance. I ask you then, If my Father King* Philip, *treated you as his Homager, and whether he gave you the Investiture of the Earldom of* Flanders? *In what place; at what time; in what manner; and before what Witnesses did he gird on your*

Sword,

Sword, and made you a Knight? And of what Order was it? Who was the Wife you Married in France? *Who treated the Match? In what place, and with what Ceremonies did you Marry her? for the true* Baldwyn *cannot be ignorant of these matters.*

I have exactly made a Recital of all the Questions, from *Paulus Æmilius*, that admirable Historian.

It is very strange, that he, who had so well studied the Genealogies of the *Flemish* Lords, could not tell what Wife he Married, which was *Margaret*, Daughter to the Earl of *Champagne*. The Annals of *Flanders* say, it was the Bishop of *Beauvais*, President of the Kings Counsel, that askt him all these questions; which may be reduced to three. 1. In what place he did Homage for his Earldom of *Flanders*? 2. By whom, and in what Place he was made a Knight? 3. In what Place, and on what Day he Married *Margaret* of *Champagne*? But this *Impostor*, as surprized with all these Questions, askt three days to answer them: Perhaps one might excuse a Man for not remembring several Circumstances of the principal Actions of his Life: Besides, such an August Assembly, before so Great a King, and Magnificent a Court, a Subject of such consequence, before an Audience no ways favou-

favourable, with the Apprehension of the Danger, might distract him, and hinder his answering pertinently. *Guaguin* says, That speaking Haughtily, to the Points in question, without sufficient Proofs of what he pretended to be, the King commanded him to go out of his Realm, in three days; but doing him no hurt, because he had given him his safe Conduct. This *Impostor* being thus shamefully Driven away, retir'd to *Valenciennes* in *Haynault*; where being abandon'd by those, whose hopes of advantage by this Novelty, had made them promise him great assistance, he disguis'd himself, like a Trades-man, intending to have past into *Burgundy*, hoping to find countenance and support there; but he was watcht, and taken on his way by a *Burgundian* Gentleman, *Erard Castenac*, who sold him to the Countess *Jane* for four hundred Marks: She put him to the torture, and forc'd him by his torments, to Confess his Imposture: He said he was Born in *Champagne*, and his name was *Bertrand de Rayns*; he was led through all the Cities of *Flanders*, and *Haynault*, where after having been shew'd to the People, he was publickly hang'd at *Liste* in *Flanders*.

Fama

Fama incipit, furene an injuria.

The greatest part of *Europe*, was in doubt whether the Countess justly put this Impostor to Death. The example of *Peter Courtney*, Successor of the true *Baldwyn*, and *Henry*, in right of his Wife *Yolante*, perswaded the possibility of so straight a Prison, as might not give him Opportunity to inform his Subjects and Friends what misfortune had befallen him. The Catastrophe of this false *Baldwyn* happened in the year of Christ, 1225. and of the World, 5186.

Perkin

CHAP. VIII.

Perkin Warbeck,
OR, THE
COUNTERFEIT
Duke of York,
Son of *Edward* the Fourth, King of *England*.

THis *Impostor* continued longer than any of the reſt, and had more Chances, and happy Hours. The Cruelty of *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*, Son of *Richard* Duke of *York*, and Brother of *Edward* the Fourth King of *England*, gave *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, Grand-ſon of *Owen Tudor*, and *Catharine of France*, a Pretenſion to Arm againſt him, for the Recovery of the Kingdom of *England*, which *Edward* the Fourth, before Duke of *York*, and Head of the *Red-Roſe*, had uſurp't from *Henry* the Sixth.

Richard

Richard Duke of *Gloceſter*, had alſo uſurp't the Crown from *Edward* the Fifth, a young Prince of Twelve years old, Eldeſt Son and Succeſſor to King *Edward* the Fourth; as likewiſe from his Brother *Richard* Duke of *York*, his two Nephews, whom he unnaturally and cruelly murthered in the *Tower* of *London*, in the year 1483. It was the Perſon of this laſt *Richard* Duke of *York*, and only Brother of King *Edward* the *Fifth*, that this *Impoſtor*, *Peter Warbeck*, commonly called *Perkin Warbeck*, ſo artfully imitated, for Five or Six Years time, from 1494 untill 1499, putting all *England* into combuſtion, and perplexity on that Subject: and giving much trouble to the new Conqueror, *Henry* the *Seventh*, who was before Earl of *Richmond*.

Margaret, Siſter to King *Edward* the *Fourth*, Widow of *Charles the Hardy*, Duke of *Burgundy*, and Soveraign of the *Seventeen Prouinces* of the *Lower Germany*, produced, and inſtructed this Counterfeit, to take the Crown of *England*, (if ſhe could have effected, what ſhe had often endeavoured) from *Henry* the *Seventh*, Chief of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, or the *White-Roſe*, whom ſhe mortally hated. This is the Truth of the Story, as *Polydore Virgil*, Hiſtoriographer to *Henry the Eighth*, relates

it, in the *Twenty-sixth* Book of his History of *England*.

This Princess, (a Woman of an Ambitious and Intriguing humour) had conceived a great Aversion to *Henry* the Seventh, Exterminator of the Usurper *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester*. The principal cause of her Hatred proceeded from the long Enmity between his Family of *Lancaster*, and her's of the House of *York*; which made her continually endeavour, by all means imaginable, his extirpation, with the Satisfaction of her own Revenge, in the removal of the Crown to One of her own Party: But finding all her endeavours miscarried, and those of *John* Earl of *Lincoln* were come to nothing, her old Inveterate temper prompted her with new Expedients, more difficult for *Henry* to prevent.

She met a young man at *Tournay*, who was handsom, of a lubde wit and quick Apprehension, his name was *Peter Warbeck*, but the *English*, in Derision, after called him *Perkin*. He understood *English*, and some other Languages, was very little known, being of the meanest Birth, and in extream Poverty. He had Travel'd through divers Countrys like a Beggar and a Vagabond. Him, the Dutchess *Margaret*, thought a fit Instrument, to Counterfeit the Duke

of

of *York*, second Son of *Edward* the Fourth. She hid him in her House, and instructed him in the affairs of *England*, and the particular Interests of the House of *York*, till he perfectly understood his business; Imprinting her Maxims in his memory, and talking properly of them, persuading all that he was the Real Prince of that Illustrious Family. Persons of that Quality and Birth have an Instinct not to be described, to follow the steps of their Glorious Ancestors, that they may deserve the same admiration, and even in this she had informed him. And now she, understanding that King *Henry* was raising Men for *France*, to assist *Francis* Duke of *Brittain*, (his old Benefactor) believing this a favourable occasion to set her Engins at work, and cause a disturbance in *England*, she sent *Perkin* privately into *Ireland*, that so this young and well-instructed Adventurer, might sow the Seeds of Rebellion amongst those uncivilized People, who were always inclin'd to Mutiny.

When he Landed in *Ireland*, he so well imploy'd his time and favour there, that many of the principal *Irish* believed his deceit, and gave him the same Honour, as if he had really been what he pretended, promising to Arm, and follow him with all Necessaries for the War. This

This News being ſpread abroad, *Francis*, the Eighth King of *France*, invited him to his Court, that he might oppoſe him to *Henry* his declared Enemy, who was then ready to Land in *France*. *Perkin* overjoy'd at this News, believing himſelf Bleſt, to enter into the Familiarity of Kings, repaſſed the Sea, and came to the *French* Court, where he was Magnificently received, and had a Train of Guards appointed him: But ſuddenly after, a Peace was concluded between *France* and *England*, and the King finding him no longer uſeful for his Purpoſe, diſmiſt him the Court. Being thus diſappointed of his hopes, he went to the Dutcheſs Dowager, into *Flanders*.

This Princeſs longed to know how he had been Received and Entertained, but the diſappointment ſenſibly afflicted her; yet ſhe Treated him, as if ſhe had never ſeen him before; which ſhe cunningly endeavoured to perſuade, being overjoy'd to ſee him; publickly Congratulating his happy return, and taking a ſingular pleaſure to hear him tell, how nearly he eſcaped in ſeveral Countrys, which he Travell'd. This ſhe did, the better to perſuade the World, he was the true Son of *Edward* the Fourth, her Brother; and ſhew'd him extraordinary

traordinary Reſpect, as likewiſe did the *Flemiſh* Lords on her account. The Deceit being hid under ſo much appearance of Truth, as perſuaded them that he eſcap'd death by the particular Providence of Heaven; and when he was in the Power of his Uncle *Richard*, a faithful Servant of his Fathers had convey'd him privately beyond Sea, ſo Reſcuing him out of his cruel hands, and that now he would attempt to regain the Kingdom of his Anceſtors. The Story of ſo ſtrange an Adventure was ſoon ſpread over all the Country, flying into *England*, where it paſt for Truth, not only among the common People, but even with ſeveral of the Nobility.

When the News came that *Richard* Duke of *York* was alive, the number of the Seditious increas'd abundantly. They, whoſe Crimes or Debts made them abſcond, or whoſe Poverty hoped advantage, fled into *Flanders* to *Perkin*; and ſoon after, many of the moſt conſiderable Lords entred into the Conſpiracy, and believed the Impoſtor; ſwayed by their own raſhneſs, or by a falſe perſuaſion that this young Man was Prince *Richard*, Son of King *Edward*, and having a blind affection for the Houſe of *York*; Others through Diſguſt, believing themſelves ill rewarded by

Henry the Seventh, whom they had ventured their Lives for, to set him upon the Throne: Many through Avarice, and a desire of change, were driven into this Conspiracy. Thus the News of *Richard* Duke of *York* being alive, divided *England*. Hopes and Fears filled the minds of all men, none were exempted from Trouble, each measuring his Danger or Advantage according to his Intereſt, Fancy, and particular Opinion.

It was an extraordinary aſtoniſhment to the King, and his Friends, that there ſhould be any Man in the World, who had the Impudence to invent and diſcourſe ſo Pernicious an Impoſture; which was not only improbable, but lookt impoſſible; and under the colour of Truth, concealed a moſt Subtle and Implacable piece of Malice, which he already knew many great Men in the Kingdom had a mind to give Credit to, (though he diſſembled his Information:) And he foreſaw this Fable might indanger the Ruin of the State, if it were not early diſcovered to the Nation, for no other than a fictitious, moſt wicked, and dangerous Counterfeit.

Thoſe who delighted in War and Trouble, embrac'd theſe Novelties, perſuading themſelves there was no deceit in them,

and

and that the News was all true; believing they should reap both Honour and Profit, by Fomenting the Hopes of their Party: And this being a Point of so much Importance, the Conspirators sent into *Flanders* to the Dutchess Dowager, to know of her, when she thought fit that *Richard* Duke of *York* should pass over into *England*, that they might the sooner Advertise their Friends, and have them ready to give him all necessary Assistance.

Sir *Robert Clifford*, and *William Barkley*, were deputed for this, by the general Consent of the rest; They gave the Dutchess *Margaret* an account what the Creatures and Favourers of this New Duke had agreed to do, which gave her an extream pleasure: She assured them, all that had been advantagiously discoursed of *Richard* Duke of *York*, was really so, shewing them the *Impostor*, who Counterfeited the Person of *Richard* to a wonder: Then she extoll'd his Vertues to the Skies, and made admirable Report of his Princely Inclinations, which were to imitate the Actions of his glorious Ancestors. When *Clifford* had seen the Youth, he really believed him of the Blood Royal, and so writ to his Correspondents in *England*: And the better to make himself be believed, he assured them,

he perfectly remembred his Face. After the delivery of these Letters, they contrived a new Motive, to excite the People to favour their Party: They assured them nothing could be more True, than the News of *Richard* Duke of *York*; and this they so cunningly spread, that no Author could be produced for the Report.

The King perceiving these Deceits, not to diminish in the Peoples minds, thought himself absolutely obliged to provide for the Publick Safety, in which his own Interest was so deeply ingaged: He knew where this design was laid, and understood *Clifford's* Secret Departure, sending Officers with some chosen Men, and approved Souldiers, to the Sea-Coasts, for the preventing any Mens Landing in, or going out of the Kingdom, except with good Passes, and to hinder all great Assemblies. For the better disabusing the *English* from their false opinions, he sent his subtlest Spies through all the Towns of *Flanders*, to understand the Birth and Original of this Counterfeit, promising large Recompence to those that could discover it; Writing to his Friends on the same Subject. These Emissaries exactly obeyed their Orders, some of them coming to *Tournay*, found the false *Richard* was Born there, of the Meanest of the

People,

People, his name being *Peter Warbeck*, of which they brought very authentick Atteſtations.

Upon this the King ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to young Earl *Philip* in *Flanders*, of which Sir *Edward Poinings*, and *William Warham*, Dr. of Laws, were chief: The latter of theſe was alſo a Church-man, of extraordinary Parts and Modeſty. He made a Speech to the Lords of the Young Princes Counſel, who was not of Age yet to take the Government upon himſelf. *He laid the impiouſneſs of the Impoſtor before them, putting them in mind of the like happening in their Country, about* 250 *years before, in the time of their Counteſs* Jane: *Likewiſe telling them, that the Effects of the King his Maſters Friendſhip, to* Maximilian, *Father of the Prince, in the War of* France, *ſhould not be ſo quickly blotted out of their memory; ſharply reflecting on the Conduct of the Dutcheſs* Margaret, *who brought forth in her elder Years, not a Child at nine Months, but a Prodigy of nine ſcore Months old.* The Councel, after a long Debate, reply'd, *That to gratifie the King, their Earl would give no Aſſiſtance to* Perkin: *But for the Dutcheſs Dowager, She was Miſtreſs of her Jointure, and her Actions; and they would neither preſcribe, nor forbid her any thing.* The

Ambassadors being return'd, *Henry* sent divers Emissaries; some to discover the Names of the Conspirators, by feigning to enter into the design; others to endeavour the perswading Sir *Robert Clifford*, and *William Barklay* to return, with the assurance of their Pardon. *Clifford* was prevailed on; but *Barklay* continued obstinate, not returning till two Years after, and till he was certain of the Kings Mercy. Some of the Kings Messengers came back, after having discovered many of the Conspirators: Others staid longer, to accompany *Clifford*, whose coming home, so much discountenanced the Plotters, that they knew not whom to trust.

The King being informed, who several of the Conspirators were, caused them to be Seized and Committed to Prison in *London*; the Chief were *John Ratclif*, Lord *Fitz-Walter*, Sir *Simon Montfort*, and Sir *Thomas Thwaites*, Knights; *William Daubeney*, *Robert Ratclif*, *Richard Lacy*, with divers others: Some Priests: *William Richeford* and *Thomas Ponzs*, Dominican Fryers; *William Sutton*, *Robert Layboura*, and *William Worsley* Dean of St. *Pauls*. The rest finding their practises were discovered, fled to several places of Refuge: They were all Condemned as Traytors, but only these Prin-

Principal were Beheaded, *Robert Ratclif*, *William Dawbeney*, and *Simon Montfort*. *John Ratclif*, Lord *Fitzwalter*, was carried to *Calais*, where for endeavouring to make his Escape, he lost his Head likewise: The rest the King Pardoned.

Not long after Sir *Robert Clifford* Arrived, and the King chose to speak with him in the *Tower*, that in case he accused any Great Men about his Person, he might secure them there. Much discourse there was touching *Cliffords* Conduct; some thought him all along to have been imploy'd by the King, to discover the rest. This was occasioned by the ready obtaining his Pardon, and his Return made him equally decry'd by both Parties; his Friends believing him a Cheat, but the small consideration the King had of him generally, convinced People, he acted as he thought, through his Inclination to the House of *York*, being deceived into the perswasion it was the true Prince. He threw himself at the Kings Feet, giving an account what passed in *Flanders*, and naming amongst his Accomplices Sir *William Stanley*: It much astonished the King, he being his Lord Chamberlain, to whom he trusted his most Important Affairs, and who had gain'd him the Crown, which was wore by

by his assistance, in the Battel against *Rich. the Third*, the Usurper. *Clifford* pretending to know his ill will to the King, from the beginning, he having declared, *He would never bear Arms against that Young Man, if he were convinced he was the Son of King* Edward. *Polydore Virgil* says, his Resentment proceeded from his not being rewarded, as he thought he had deserved to be. *Beneficium post hominum memoriam Maximum, per quod Henricus a periculo vitæ liberatus, conservatusque Regnum sibi quæsivit.* For when the King was over-power'd at the Battel of *Bosworth*, and like to be torn in pieces by that Squadron where his Enemy *Richard* was; Sir *William Stanly*, by order of his Brother *Thomas*, who Commanded the Reserve, effectually helping where he found most need, charging *Richard*, he disingaged the King, and gave him the Victory.

These Considerations made him in some suspence, but the consequence of the Example prevail'd, and he was Beheaded as the rest were. The King was under a necessity to use that Rigour, for hindring the Insolent discourses of the common People, who talkt Maliciously, and Cursed him at their little Meetings; saying aloud, *They expected every day the Duke of* York, *and to see him on the Throne.* But these Executions,

tions, and the Method he uſed in his Affairs, extinguiſhed great part of thoſe Heats, and reſtored many People to their Duty. *Giles* Lord *Dawbeney*, whoſe Prudence and Fidelity, the King was well aſſured of, poſſeſt the Place of Lord Chamberlain, Vacant by the Death of Sir *William Stanley*.

The *Iriſh* more than ever perſiſting in their raſh unadviſedneſs, it was reſolved to endeavour to cruſh thoſe Seeds of Sedition *Perkin* had ſown amongſt them, the precedent Years: For which Intent, the King ſent *Henry Denny* Abbot of *Langton*, a Wiſe and Contriving Man, whom he deſigned to make Chancellor of that Kingdom, making Sir *Edward Poynings*, his *Colleague*, who was to command the Army. Theſe two Perſons repreſenting the two Arms of Juſtice, one holding the Scales, the other the Sword; ſhewing above the Cheats of an Impoſtor, the Majeſty of a Lawful King, *Non ſolum Armis decoratum, ſed & Legibus armatam.* They had order to go where he had been, and take an exact account, who they were, that reſolved to aſſiſt him, and to Arm all they could, to purſue the Accomplices.

Ireland was divided into two ſorts of Inhabitants, the one Civilized through the

converse with other Nations, but especially the *English*: The others Wild and Savage, as any upon Earth, living by Theft, enclin'd to Rebellion and Novelty, destroying one another, according to the Inclinations and Avarice of those they follow. *Perkin* knowing the Genius and Turbulent Spirits of the latter, addressed himself to them: These Sir *Edward Poynings* attackt chiefly, knowing them most Guilty; but they would never stand the shock, always flying to their Boggs and Mountains. The other *Irish* did not obey his Orders, nor send him Succours as they promised, which made him give over the Pursuit, believing the old Governour *Gerald* Earl of *Kildare* favoured them underhand; wherefore he cunningly seized his Person, and brought him to the King; before whom, this Earl so pleaded his Cause, that he was sent back, and restored to his Government, being thought the most prudent way in that Conjuncture, because of his great Interest and Authority with the *Irish*.

While these things were transacting in *England*, *Warbeck* was extreamly grieved, his Conspiracy was discovered, and many of his chiefest Friends Executed; Yet he, notwithstanding, resolved to cross the Sea, accompanied by a great number of Vagabonds,

bonds, such Fugitives as would follow him. 'Tis true he had some Lords, and good Captains in his Train, to strengthen his hopes of the Crown. His Fleet came upon the Coast of *Kent*, where the weather being calm, he Landed some of his Men, for the better securing or persuading the Country People to his Party: But the Impostor was already known every where, and they had suffered much Misery and Desolation in the late Wars. They knew the Soldiers of this false *Richard* were all Strangers, who would make no distinction of Friends or Enemies, where they were strong enough to Plunder and Pillage, nor have respect to Churches, or Places Sacred; believing God had left them, since several of their Party had been put to shameful deaths, as a punishment of their Guilt. Wherefore these Inhabitants endeavoured to destroy this Counterfeit, by persuading him to Land all his Men; promising to give notice to their Neighbours, and make a considerable body, while he prepared for his March. *Perkin* distrusted their Intentions, knowing the common People use no Ceremony in their Emotions, but run on without Reason or Deliberation: Therefore he resolved not to Land himself, but to venture part of his Men, who were no sooner out

of ſight, when the Country People Charged them; driving them back to the Sea, ſo that only the moſt Nimble and moſt Cowardly eſcaped; the Stouteſt and Robuſt were killed or wounded: The latter were not treated as Priſoners of War, but like Pirats and Thieves, 150 being Hanged along the Shore. The King himſelf was on his March from *London*, againſt theſe Vagabonds; till meeting the news of their Defeat, he returned; ſending only Sir *Richard Guilford* to thank the *Kentiſhmen* for their Lovalty, and aſſure them of his Grace and Favour; incouraging them to perſiſt in the ſame Fidelity and Zeal for his Intereſt.

Though this ill ſucceſs troubled *Warbeck*, and his Friends, who returned to *Flanders*, they gave not over for it, taking new Reſolutions of Landing in *Ireland*, and Levying Men there, for the Invading the Weſtern parts of *England*: And if that failed, to go for *Scotland*; which Nation had never Peace long with the *Engliſh*: His Aunt giving him Money for the equipping a Fleet, and making ſome Levies. He Sayled with good Weather, to the *Iriſh* Coaſts, where he ſoon found the inequality between thoſe unarmed, unexperienced People, and the *Engliſh* Forces; yet not

daring

daring to expose his Men to the Slaughter, he rather chose the other Project of passing into *Scotland*, where *James* the Fourth was not displeased at the Arrival of a Person so much discours'd of through all *Europe*, out of the Aversion his People had for the *English*, giving him Access to his Royal Person, where *Polydore Virgil* says, he made this Speech.

I know (Great Prince) you cannot be Ignorant what Calamities have late befallen the Family of Edward *the Fourth, King of* England, *whose Son (I assure your Majesty) I am; having by a Miracle escaped Death. My Father, e're he dyed, made* Richard *Duke of* Gloucester *my Uncle, Guardian to* Edward *my Elder Brother, and my self; hoping the great kindness he always favoured him with, would oblige him to more tenderness of us: But alas! how was he deceived, for our Guardian became our Murderer: Transported by his Ambition of Reigning, he gave his positive Commands for our Destruction. The Person he instructed with his Orders, frighted with the horror of the Crime, obey'd but half his Instructions: For after he had taken away my Brother's, sparing my life, he suffered a faithful Servant to convey me out of the Kingdom, who left me not till I was past all danger. By these Methods my Uncle* Richard *seized the*

Crown,

Crown, as if it had been the Reward of his Crimes, whilst I (after this Deliverance) wandring about the World, almost forgot who I was. At last coming to my Aunt Margaret, *Widow of that most excellent Prince,* Charles, *late Duke of* Burgundy, *she received me with unspeakable joy, as risen from the dead: But that Princess having only her Joynture in* Flanders, *and not able to assist me with Force enough, for the recovery of my Kingdom, I have been constrained to have Recourse to other Princes; And by her advice, I am come to Your Majesty, though slenderly accompanyed: Yet knowing your Princely Generosity, which has filled the World with your Glory; particularly for your Inclination to protect the Unhappy, Dispossessed of their Rights; who becoming Objects of the Cruelty of wicked Men, are so much the greater of Your Royal Clemency. This encourages me, to implore Your Majesty's Assistance, for this Unhappy Prince here before You, for the Recovery of his antient Kingdom: And I assure you, I and my Successors will so acknowledge Your Majesty's Grace and Favour, that this Crown will not repent the Kindness; though, to say truly, it is above all we can do, to express our Gratitude as we ought.*

King *James* answer'd his Speech very civilly,

villy, exhorting him to take Courage; and assure himself, he should not repent his coming thither. He Assembled his Council, who were much divided in their Opinions; some taking him for an *Impostor*; others (whose Advice prevailed) affirming, that if he were the true *Duke of York*, both He and all his Posterity must acknowledge this Favour, and for it, be obliged to *Scotland*: Or although he should prove a Counterfeit, this Pretence of War would make the *English* treat with more inclination, to grant what they desired, for the dis-engaging the *Scots* from his Interest. This last Advice was followed by the *King*, who shewed *Perkin* extraordinary Respects, stiling him *Highness*, and *Duke of York*: And to advance his Credit, he married him to his Kinswoman *Katharine*, Daughter of *Alexander* Earl of *Huntly*; a Lady of incomparable Beauty and Vertue, whose Obedience to the *King*, rather than the Ambition of having her Head Crowned one day with a Royal Diadem, o're came the Repugnance she had in her Heart, to marry a Man so unknown, whom many called an *Impostor*. The Motives which perswaded the *King* to this Match, were for a specious Pretext of War, and breaking the Truce with the *English*; He being by this obliged

ged to protect his new Kinſman and Ally, without being accounted raſh in his Aſſiſtance, if the Deceit ſhould be diſcovered; for this Marriage muſt needs perſwade the World, he thought him the true *Duke of York*.

King *James* raiſed Men, and formed an Army; which, you will ſuppoſe, gave the *Impoſtor* great Satisfaction. And now his Senſes were charmed with the Sound of War-like Muſick, as well as with the ſofter Concerts of his Wedding. *Courriers* were ſent into *England*, to obſerve what Preparations were making for Reſiſtance. But all being quiet; the *Scotch* Army, with their *King* at the Head, entred *Northumberland*; where they pillaged, burnt, raviſhed, and killed, ſparing neither Age nor Sex; behaving themſelves, without Humanity: Till the Soldiers, laden with Plunder, refuſed to March further, pretending no *Engliſh* joyned them. The Counterfeit *Richard*, one day hearing the Crys of the poor plunder'd *Engliſh*, ſeemed much afflicted; ſaying, *Oh! how wretched am I, and my Heart as hard as Steel, not to be troubled at the Miſery of my People!* Intreating the *King*, to prevent the Cruelty of the Soldiers, and not ſuffer them to deſtroy his unhappy Country; feigning great Commiſera-

miſeration and Tenderneſs: Who anſwered him very coldly; *He might concern himſelf with his own Affairs, and not with other Mens*; calling England *his Country and People; where none came to his Aſſiſtance, though a War was undertaken for his Cauſe.* So chiding this Mock-King's Diſſimulation, and changing from that time, his Reſpect to him; Neglecting, and contemning him, when he found neither his Actions, nor the Event of things, correſpond with his former Promiſes.

King *Henry* prepared to meet, and repell the Scotch-Men, at the News of this their Cruelty and Infidelity; when the Lords on the Marches, informed him of their Retreat; They having done the beſt they could, by Intrenching & Fortifying themſelves, with an Intent, as they did, by their frequent *Allarms* and Skirmiſhes, to waſt and tire out the Enemy. Juſt before this Advice, he Summons a *Parliament* at *London*, where ſeveral good Laws were made, for the Publick Safety: But Money being the Sinews of War, they concluded on the Methods of raiſing it. *Giles Lord Dawbeney*, who was General of the Army, had Orders to begin his March for the Frontiers of *Scotland*. But he had ſcarce ſet forward, when the *Corniſh* Men took up Arms, alledging for their Pretence

great Taxes laid on them (as they said) for an Inconsiderable *Scotch-War*, which was ended already; when indeed it was but just begun: And then their Barren Land, and hard Labour of Mineing, making them Incapable to pay them. *Thomas Flammock*, a Country-Lawyer, and *Michael Joseph* a Farrier, two bold Fellows, being at the Head of the Rebels, they Marched toward *London*, and demanded the Heads of *John Morton*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and Sir *Reynald Bray*, both Privy-Counsellors; And at *Wells*, they were Joyned by *James Twichet*, Lord *Audley*, and some other Gentlemen. King *Henry* considering these Troubles should be first appeased, recalled the Lord *Dawbeney*, with his Army, sending *Thomas Howard*, Earl of *Surry*, in his stead, a most experienced Souldier; To whom he had given his Life and Liberty, after the Famous Battle of *Bosworth-Field*, which he had won of *Richard* the Usurper; afterwards honouring him with the Office of *Lord High Treasurer of England*, upon the Death of *John Lord Durham*. This Earls Commands were, to raise what Men he could, about the County of *Durham*, and oppose the Incursions of the *Scots*, till *Giles* Lord *Dawbeney* should have Dissipated, and Chastized the Rebels of

Cornwall, and Joyn'd him with his Army. *Polydore Virgil* Names the Lords, and the Gentlemen, who met the Royal Army, commanded by *Dawbeney*, increasing it with their Tennants.

About this time, *Charles the* 8th. of *France*, sent an Ambassador to give the *King* an Account of his Conquering the Kingdom of *Naples*, and to renew his Allyance with *England*: *Henry* sent some Lords to meet them, so soon as he knew they were arrived at *Calais*, and also to amuse them at *Dover*, that they might not understand the Revolt in the West, till it was suppress't: in which he was exactly obey'd.

In the mean time, the Rebels decamped from *Wells*, Marched to *Salisbury*, and so to *Canterbury*, hoping those People would Joyn with them; but they were much deceived; for they found them Armed, and ready to oppose them; being Commanded by *George* Earl of *Kent*, and *John* Lord *Brook*, with Fifteen or Sixteen other Lords. The Resolution, and Fidelity, of these Men, so astonisht the Rebels Army, that many abandoned them, Running from their Camp in the Night: But they were too far advanced for a Retreat; so continued their March to *Black-Heath*, near *London*; where they drew up themselves, in Order to a

Battle, upon the Hill. Thither, the *King* sent, *Henry Bourchier Earl* of *Essex*, *Edmund* dela *Pool* Earl of *Suffolk*. Sir *Richard Thomas*, and Sir *Humphrey Stanly*, all Great Souldiers, with detached Parties, to encompass them, and hinder their Flight; whilst he March't streight to charge them, with *Dawbeney*, followed by the best Men of his Army: Commanding Sir *Richard Thomas*, to attack them, at the same time, from his Post; which was so vigourously executed, that notwithstanding all their resistance, the Rebels were broken and lost Two Thousand Men, besides vast Numbers of Prisoners; the *King* missing but Three Hundred: He pardon'd those wretched People, only making their Chiefs, Examples; among whom was the Lord *Audley*, who was drawn from *Newgate* to *Tower-Hill*, and there beheaded; *Thomas Flammock*, and *Michael Joseph*, were Hanged and Quarter'd, and their Heads and Limbs set up in *London*, and several places of *Cornwall*; for the Terror and Example of others. They admired the Constancy of *Michael* the Smith, who contented himself, that he should always be talked of: *A Deo* (says *Polydore*) *Medios ac infimos viros, perinde ut Summos, Gloriæ cupiditas incendit.*

The *Scotch King*, taking Advantage by these

these Disorders, entred the County of *Durham*, giving his Men all manner of Licence: With some of his Troops he Besieged *Norham*, a Castle of Great Importance, on those Frontiers; into which *Richard Fox*, the Vigilant Bishop of *Durham*, had put a strong Garrison, and well fortified the Place, having foreseen the Siege: He then advertised *Thomas* Earl of *Surry*, who had already raised a considerable Army in *Yorkshire*; and hearing the distress that *Norham* was in, he Marched with all speed, having a Great number of Gentlemen, and Knights with him, and a Body of near Twenty Thousand Men, besides a considerable Fleet at Sea. King *James* informed of his Advancing, being within Two Days March, Hastily raised his Siege, and retired into *Scotland*, where he was followed by the Earl; who being in the Enemies Country, plundred all he could and took several Towns: But having no opportunity to furnish himself with Provisions, he returned into the County of *Durham*.

During the War, about this time, *Peter Hyalas*, a wise and prudent Man, came Ambassador, and Mediator from *Ferdinand*, and *Isabella* of *Spain*, a most Incomparable Princess. King *Henry* appointed for his Ambassador, *Richard* Bishop of *Durham*,

who was near the Place of Treaty; where they met the King of *Scotlands* Privy Counsellors, and treated of the Conditions of Peace. The greatest difficulty arose concerning *Perkin Warbeck*; *Henry* Positively persisting, to have him delivered up, as being the Disturber of his Kindgoms Peace, and the Occasion of so many Rebellions. The King of *Scotland* could not in Honour, yeild to deliver up a Man to Death, whom he had raised, and made his Kinsman. So, at last, it was agreed, that he should quit his Interest, and command him out of his Dominions. These Articles were agreed on, and a Peace was made between them in the Year, 1498. *Henry* King of *England*, sent home this *Spanish* Ambassador, Loaden with Presents, and with great Thanks to his King and Queen.

Then was the Marriage projected of Prince *Arthur*, the Kings Eldest Son, and *Katharine* the *Infanta*, afterwards Marryed to *Henry* the VIII. his Second Son; whose Famous Divorce, caused so many Revolutions in the Kingdom. About the same time, King *Henry* Received two other Embassies; One, from the King of *France*; the Other, from Prince *Philip*, Earl of *Flanders*, Son to the Emperour *Maximilan*, who renewed his Alliance with Him. The King of

Scotland

Scotland exactly observed the Articles of Peace, touching *Perkin Warbeck*; being wholly disabused concerning him. He sent for him, and told him in short, what he had *done in his Favour*; *but he found himself obliged to conclude a Peace with* England; *and now was no longer in Circumstances to give him assistance, or allow him his Court for a Retreat: Therefore, advised him to retire, and hope a better Fortune.* Though this was a Fatal Blow to *Warbeck*, it came not unforeseen by him, who wanted not Understanding, but extreamly thanked the *King*; assuring him, he could never acknowledge his Favours as he ought, and desired acquiescing in his Orders.

After this, with his Wife he went for *Ireland*, with Intention either to go for *Flanders*, to his Aunt; or head the *Cornish Malecontents*: But resolving on the latter, he found the Minds of those People, irritated by their Losses, and easily engaged them to Mutiny. He then gave out his Commissions, and Formed his Army, with Design to surprize some considerable Towns; which might serve for a Refuge, in case of ill Success. With this intent, he Besieged *Exeter*, using all Endeavours, to carry it by Assault, and trying to seize the Gates; for Petards nor Rams were not then in Use;

he brought Great Stones, and Axes, instead of those Engins; which not taking effect, he employ'd Fire; and heaping Wood against the Gates, indeavoured to burn them: The Besieged used the same Expedient, Fireing great quantity of Wood, within their Gates; by Flames preventing their Danger by Fire. He then raised his Scaling Ladders, and commanded the Attack to be made, which was better repulsed, many of his Men being left dead under the Walls, the very Women throwing Stones, and Scalding Water on the Besiegers.

King *Henry* being Informed, what Danger the Besieged were in, advanced with great Marches to their Assistance; sending Detached Partys, to declare His Coming. In the mean time, several Men of Quality got into the City, with supplyes. Amongst whom, was *Edward Courtney*, Earl of *Devonshire*, and several of his Family; *Peter Edgcomb* and *William* St. *Maure* and other Men of Note: This extreamly perplexed *Perkin*; he could not cover his Men in any strong Place; who for the most part of them, were ill provided of Armes, as well Offensive as Defensive; and considering he was not able to resist so Powerful Enemies, as were advancing towards him; he raised

the

the Siege, and Marched to *Taunton*; where he Muſter'd his Men, and drew them up in Battalia; of which the *King* hearing, directed his March that way; many Lords Joyning Him, and giving Demonſtrations of their Zeal, to expreſs and Signalize their Loyalty on that Occaſion. The *King* Commanded my Lord *Brook*, my Lord *Dawbeney*, and Sir *Richard Thomas*, with a Party of choſen detached Men, to begin the Charge; but both his Orders, and their Reſolutions were needleſs: For *Warbeck*, through his own Natural Cowardize, or believing himſelf betray'd, ran away, and left his Army; flying into the Monaſtery of *Beaulieu*. His Officers ſeeing themſelves abandonned, loſt their Reſolution, and tryed to ſave themſelves by Flight. The wretched Multitude, being left without a Head, knew not what to do; whether to reſolve to dye Fighting, or to Implore the *Kings* Mercy: But chooſing the latter, they threw down their Armes, and on their Knees, begged Pardon; which the *King* granted them: For certainly, if their Officers had not left them, it would have coſt him very dear, they being reſolved to overcome or dye. Partyes of Light-Horſe were ſent every way, for the Apprehenſion of *Warbeck*, and the Chief of his Gang: But

though

though they missed him, they took most of the others his Accomplices: Some of the Searchers found *Katharine Huntley*, Wife of *Perkin*, with her Women; Her they brought to the *King*; who was much surprized to see so Beautiful a Lady; extreamly pittying her Misfortune: And considering such a Noble Prize, was not fit to be the Souldiers Prey, but worthy an Emperor; He sent her to *London*, where he presented to the Queen this unfortunate Lady, so unhappily Sacrificed to the Humour, or Interests of the *King* her Uncle: & Match't to a Villain, and *Impostor*, instead of a Legitimate Prince, whom she justly Merited, and not the extream Grief, of seeing this Counterfeit, her Husband, suffer the deserved Reproaches, and Calumny, of the Basest Profligates.

The *King* Encompast the Monastery of *Beaulieu*, with his Army, for the better securing *Perkin*: Not being willing to Violate the Sanctuary; he himself having been protected the same manner in *Bretagn*, when *Richard* the Usurper, demanded him. Besides, such was the Custome of those days. Wherefore, he sent him word by the Religious Men of the Monastery, that he would spare his Life; assuring him of his Clemency: yet nevertheless, at *Exeter*, he

he beheaded ſeveral of the Principal Rebels, puniſhing many of the reſt, which were taken in their Flight; thanking that City for their Zeal and Fidelity. With *Warbeck* in his Power, he return'd for *London*, where the People, in Multitudes, Flock'd to ſee *Perkin*, with aſtoniſhment; admiring, that a Forreigner, of ſo mean Birth, ſhould undertake by his Impoſtures, the Overthrow of ſo great a Kingdome; and perſwade ſo many Princes, Lords, and People, (to the Deſtruction of many) of the Truth of thoſe Falſehoods, he till then ſpread abroad, both of his Perſon and Birth.

There is no doubt, but that the *King* kept him cloſe Priſoner, and juſtly puniſh'd thoſe remarkable Rebels of *Cornwall*, *Devon*, and *Sommerſetſhire*; for which Service, he ſent *Thomas* Lord *Darcy*, Sir *Amyas Powlet*, and *Robert Sherburn* Dean of St. *Pauls*, with his Commiſſion into the *Weſt*, where they ſoundly Fined, & Amerced every one, that had Aſſiſted or Favoured the Rebels before or after their Defeat at *Black-heath*. But yet with conſideration of ſuch Perſons, who either through Fear, or by Force were compell'd to do it.

There happened about this time, a Quarrel between the *Engliſh* and *Scotch*, that had

had like to have renewed the War. Some *Scotch* were observed to walk under the Walls of *Norham*, which a little before they had Besieged; and the next day doing it again, the *English* Garrison, fearing they had some Design, sent out to know their Reasons, and whether they came not as Spies. From Words, they soon came to Blows; which put the *Scotch*, who were fewer in Number, to Flight, leaving several Dead on the Place. At this, the King of *Scotland* was incensed, demanding the Violaters of the Peace, in his Letters, where he highly complain'd of them. The King of *England* tryed to appease Him, promising exemplary Punishment on the Aggressors. *Richard Fox*, Bishop of *Durham*, (being extreamly displeased, that the Garrison he had placed there, should give Occasion of Variance, between those two Monarchs, who with so great Difficulty, were brought to an Accord,) sent his Letters to King *James*; assuring him, he might expect all possible Satisfaction. This Prince, who very much esteemed him, honoured him with an Answer, and an Invitation to come, and discourse of Matters. The Bishop immediately informed the King, his Master; who permitted him to go. It was in this Visit, that King *James* told him,

If

If he did not fear a Denyal, he would ask the Princess Margaret, his Master's Eldest Daughter, in Marriage. The Bishop encouraged his Hopes, undertaking to sound the Affair, without ingaging His Honour in it. King *Henry* rejoyced at the Overture, and accepted it with all His Heart. It was from this Marriage of the Princess *Margaret*, to *James* the Fourth King of *Scotland*, that *James* the Sixth of *Scotland*, and since King of *England*, as next Heir, Inherited the Crown of *England*, after the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, in the Year 1603.

Now, we will declare the Catastrophe, and Death of the Impostor *Perkin*; together with that of the Unfortunate Prince *Edward*, Earl of *Warwick*.

Warbeck's Turbulent Spirit, ill brooking so strait an Imprisonment, endeavoured to make his Escape; and finding his Guards to abate something of their first strictness, got out of Prison, directing his Flight towards the Sea-side, for Shipping off privately; which in *England*, after Proclamation to the contrary, is very difficult. He was quickly miss'd, and every way pursued: He carefully watching, hid himself in Ditches, and behind the Hedges; till the Horsemen that sought him, were

past

past: When despairing to get out of the Island, and finding himself reduced to the utmost Distress, he waited the Obscurity of the Night, and got to a Monastery; where asking for the *Prior*, and throwing his Arms about his Neck, he declared his Misfortune. The Father touched with his Misery, promised to speak to the *King*; which accordingly he did; whose Piety granted his Life, without other present Punishment; provided he no more attempted to escape.

The Counterfeit was then led in Chains to *London*; where before *Westminster-Hall*, he was, in a pair of Stocks, exposed a whole Day, to the Scorn and Mockery of the People. The next day, enduring the same in the City; where he declared his Parentage, the Place of his Birth, and all the Passages of his Life; and by what Means he was induced to make this Attempt: and from thence he was conveyed into the *Tower*.

As for Young *Edward*, Earl of *Warwick*, he had been a Prisoner from his Cradle; bred up out of the Sight of Men or Beasts: So that he could not distinguish a *Goose* from a *Hen*, and incapable of doing any thing worthy of *death*: He was nevertheless brought to it by the Crimes of Others.

That

That Age being Fruitful in *Impoſtors*, an *Auguſtine Monk*, called *Patrick*, ſuborned a Youth, whoſe Name we find not, with Promiſes of Raiſing him to the Crown, and to better Fortune than *Perkin Warbeck's*, provided he would paſs for the Earl of *Warwick*, and but leave him alone to Act the reſt. Ambition had ſuch Charms with the Young Man, that he undertook it, and hazarded all was deſired of him. So they came to *Canterbury*, where they told their forged Adventure: The *Fryar* declaring how dextrouſly he had got the Earl of *Warwick* out of Priſon; and ſome credulous People believing the Story: But before they had time to cheat the World, the King ſent, and apprehended the Two Sparks; Hanged the Youth, and Immured the *Monk*; according to the Cuſtom of thoſe Times.

Perkin continued ſtill the ſame, contriving and endeavouring to break looſe once more; and having corrupted ſome of his Guards, deſign'd to Murther the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and carrying the Earl of *Warwick* with him, to get out by Force; which being diſcovered, he was by the Judges condemned for this laſt Action only; and a few days after, hanged accordingly.

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As for the Earl of *Warwick*, he loſt his Head, for liſtening to him, and intending to Eſcape with him. This Unhappy Prince bearing the Iniquity of his Father, *George*, Duke of *Clarence*, who was the Barbarous Murtherer of Prince *Edward*, only Son, and deſign'd Succeſſor of *Henry the Sixth*.

You may imagine the Aſtoniſhment and Affliction the Dutcheſs *Margaret* was in, for the Unfortunate End of her Pretended Nephew, whom ſhe had taken ſuch Pains to ſet on the *Engliſh* Throne, by ſo many Impoſtures.

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CHAP. IX.

THE COUNTERFEIT Don Sebaſtian, KING of *PORTUGAL.*

THE firſt Prince, that gave Beginning to the Royal Family of *Portugal*, was *Henry*, who Married *Tereſa*, or *Tireſia*, *Alphonſo* King of *Caſtile's* natural Daughter, in the Year 1090, having the Earldom of *Portugal*, for her Portion. The *King* hoping he would make as Vigorous a War againſt the *Moors*, as his Brother *Hugh* Duke of *Burgundy*, had done; giving him that Country for a Bulwark, to defend his own from thoſe Infidels; towards whom, it was the Frontiers. He was the Son of another *Henry* Duke of *Burgundy*, Grand-ſon of *Robert* Duke of the ſame, who was Grand-ſon to *Robert*,

King of *France*, Succeſſor to *Hugh Capet*. I do not mind the Opinions of ſeveral Hiſtorians, who are much perplext to find out of what Family, and Country this *Henry* was. *Theod. Godefroy*, one of the moſt Learned, and moſt Curious Perſons of his Time, firſt diſcovered this Original of the Kings of *Portugal*; and thoſe Famous Twins, *Scevola*, and *Lewis de St. Martha*, have Authorized it, in their *Genealogical Hiſtory of the Houſe of* France.

The Princes of this Race, have held the Royal Dignity, and Signaliz'd their Conduct by many Victories, over the Unbelievers, even beyond our Hemiſphere: But to give an Account of their Actions, is no part of my Subject; therefore, I will only ſay, They have generally held the Scepter with Great Glory, and without any Interruption, in the Royal Family, to this very *Don Pedro*, who now Reigns with the Title of Prince Regent; no Objection being to be made, except two or three ſuſpicions of Illegitimacy; ſo that it has always been ſupported by the ſame Blood Royal.

Don Sebaſtian, whoſe misfortune we treat of, (which gave an opportunity for an *Impoſtor* to aſpire, and pretend to his Diadem, perſwading the World he Eſcaped

ped from the Unhappy Battle of *Alcazer*) at three Years Old, which was in the Year, 1557. Succeeded *Don John the Third*, his Paternal Grand-Father: He was Grand-ſon to the Emperor, *Charles the Fifth*, by his Mother *Jane*. In his Youth, he had been under the Tutulage of *Donna Catharina of Auſtria*, his Paternal Grand-mother, Siſter to the ſame Emperor; and of the Cardinal *Henry*, his Great Uncle.

A Deſire to Augment his Glory, by ſetting a *Mooriſh* Prince on the Throne of *Fez* in *Africa*, (imitating *Alexander the Great*, who at his Age paſſed the *Helleſpont*, for the Conqueſt of *Aſia*) Perſwaded him to do the ſame over the Straights of *Gibraltar*, for the Subjugating *Africk*; his Anceſtors having ſhewed the way, eſpecially King *Don Emanuel*; whoſe Heroick Vertues, frequent Proſperities, and Signal Victorys, had vanquiſh't, and made Tributary ſeveral *Kings*, in thoſe Extream Parts of the World: Chiefly by the Conduct of the Famous *Don Alphonſo Albuquerque*; and alſo through his Care to plant the Chriſtian Faith, which Juſtly made him eſteemed one of the Greateſt, and moſt Happy Princes, in the World. The ſame Motives of Religion, and Glory, with the Hopes that *Muley Mahomet*, or *Muley Hamet*, King of *Fez*,

whom he undertook to re-eſtabliſh in the Throne, would according to his Promiſe, embrace the Chriſtian Religion; perſwaded him to this moſt Unhappy Enterprize; and, as the *Marquis of Piſani*, then Ambaſſador for the Crown of *France*, in the *Spaniſh* Court, declares, *That he was alſo puſh't on to this Engagement, by the Unſound and Pernicious Counſels of the Jeſuites.* I have Read in their *Catechiſm*, That this Prince, being a *Jeſuite* in his Heart, would not Marry; they having often ſollicited him, to make a Law, *That for the future, none ſhould be King of* Portugal, *but a* Jeſuite; *and Elected by their Order, as the* Pope *is by the Cardinals*: And becauſe this young Prince could not, or to ſay truely, durſt not condeſcend to it, (though Superſtitious enough) they aſſured him, that *God* had ſo ordained it, as he ſhould underſtand by a Voice from Heaven, when he came to the Sea-ſide, ſo that he ſeveral times expected it; but theſe good Apoſtles, (for ſo they called them in *Portugal*) could not ſo well carry on their Mummery, to procure the Voice: However, they ſo followed theſe Impreſſions, as carryed him into this unhappy War, in the Flower of his Age, being about Twenty Two Years Old.

This Diſaſter, one of the moſt terrible,

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that ever the Sun beheld, was preſaged the Year before it happened; that is, in 1577. by the Appearance of a Prodigious *Comet*, ſeen in the Ayr, when all *Portugal* was in Armes: *Nunquam viſus Terris impune Cometes*; if you believe the *Poet*. I will not leave my Subject, to ſeek further any Reaſons of the War, *That* having been at large declared by *Giovanni Botero Beneſe*, Abbot of *St. Michael de la Chiuſa*, in his firſt Volume of his *General Deſcription of the World*, which was augmented by *Pierre Daviti* of *Tournay*, and continued by *Me* in the Year 1660.

Cherif Xeque, King of *Fez* and *Morocco*, gave his Kingdoms to his Sons Succeſſively, excluding his Grand-ſons. *Abdalla*, Succeſſor of *Xeque*, to Fruſtrate his Fathers Will, put all his Brothers to Death, who were very Numerous, being born of many Wives, after the *Mahumetan* Faſhion: Only *Muley Moluc*, or *Abdelmeleck*, and *Hamet*, fled to *Conſtantinople*, for the ſaving their Lives: and for a better Expectation of the Crown, to exclude their Nephews, the Sons of *Abdalla*, according to their Father's Eſtabliſhment. *Muley Mahomet*, the Son of *Abdalla*, tryed to ſecure his Fathers Scepter, to the Prejudice of the Subſtitution, made in his Uncles Favour: And in

truth, Juſtice was on his ſide, it being the Natural Order of Succeſſion. However, his Uncle *Muley Moluc*, or *Abdelmeleck*, aſſiſted by the Turks; beat him three ſeveral times.

This made him Croſs the Sea, to Implore the Aſſiſtance of King *Don Sebaſtian*, who, moved with hopes of converting the *Moores*, through more Zeal than Prudence, and heightned by his Deſire of Glory, heard the *Affrican* Kings Proteſtations; from whom he promiſed himſelf great Advantages, for the Chriſtian Religion, for the Reputation of his Name, and the Utility and Profit of his Subjects. With theſe Notions, he paſſed the Seas, at the Head of a very Powerful Army; and joyning with *Muley Mahomet*, he gave Battle to *Muley Abdelmeleck*, near the City *Alcazer*, on the Plains of *Tamiſta*, in the Year 1578. where, to his great Unhappineſs, his Army was defeated, with an extream Slaughter; and he, doing the Office of a Valiant Captain, was there kill'd: Though the *Portuguezes* have always believed, and yet affirm, his Eſcape from the Fight, into *Italy*, where many ſaw him as we ſhall after declare. *Muley Moluc*, or *Abdelmeleck*, in the Beginning of this Action, was taken with an Appoplexy, and carryed to his Tent, where

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he dyed, juſt when his Enemies were upon the Point of Flying: *Hamet*, his Brother, Reaping the Sole Fruit of this Victory. *Mahomets* Body was carefully ſought for, by his Order; and being found, his Skin was flayed off, and ſtufft with Straw, to be carryed before him, at his triumphant Entry into the City of *Fez*.

This *Mahomet* left a Son called *Chiriffi*, whom his Uncle *Albequerin* brought into *Spain*, where turning Chriſtian, by the Munificence of *Philip the Second*, he was made *Commendator* of the *Order of S. James*, though commonly called the *Prince* of *Morocco*.

Some years after this, King *Don Sebaſtian* came back out of *Affrica*: But whether he were the *True*, or an *Impoſtor*, the World ſeems yet divided in their Opinions. *Daniel Hawley*, an *Iriſh* Man, of the Order of St. *Dominick*, called Arch-biſhop of *Goa*; when he was Ambaſſador in *France*, from *Alphonſo*, the *Sixth* King of *Portugal*, told me in *Paris*, That he was fain to refuſe the Licenſing a Book, which ſaid, This King *Don Sebaſtian*, had loſt his Life in that Battle of *Alcazer*, till he had Obliged the Author, to change his Language and Opinion. And, at this preſent, to ſay, That he was an *Impoſtor*, and not the *true Don Sebaſti-*

an, that returned from *Affrica*, is forbidden, and Criminal in *Portugal*.

Peter Mathieu, in his Hiſtory of *Henry the Great*, in the Third Book; and *Mademoiſelle des Jardins*, in the *Seventh* Part of her *Annales Gallantes*, *in the Eighth Hiſtory*, tells, by what good Fortune, this young Prince got from among the Dead, and how he wandred from the Field of Battle. I will not determine any thing on the likelyhood, or real Truth of the Action. She ſays, That this King, though he were promiſed and engaged, to Marry the Princeſs *Mary*, his near Kinſwoman, Daughter of *Edw.* Duke of *Braganza*, and *Iſabel* one of the Daughters of King *Don Emanuel*, fell ſo much in Love with *Xerine*, Daughter of *Muley Moluc*, who being born of a *Greek*, was much whiter than *Affricans* commonly are, that he promiſed to Marry her, and underhand bring what Obſtacles he could, againſt the Diſpenſation to Marry his Couſin German.

This *Mooriſh Princeſs*, underſtanding *Don Sebaſtians* Defeat, whom ſhe dearly Loved, deſpiſeing the Crowns of *Fez* and *Morocco*, for the Hopes of that of *Portugal*, and Tranſported with a Grief, even to Deſpair, Rann, ere the Day-brake, to the Plains of *Tamiſta*, only accompanyed with *Laura*,

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a Chriſtian Slave, her Confident; reſolving to Sacrifice her ſelf, with her own Hand, on the Body of her Loved *Sebaſtian*; whom ſhe ſought amidſt the Horrid Numbers of the Dead and Dying, with which the Plain was covered. Some of the Wounded Men, who had yet a Glimmering of underſtanding left them, told the Place where *Don Sebaſtian* Fought; and carefully obſerving thoſe Bodys, ſhe eſpyed one extreamly reſembling her Lover; and with great Crys, ſhe embraced, and moved him, reſolving to Dye there; when the ſuppoſed Dead Man came to himſelf, a little opening his Eyes, and ſpake a few words imperfectly.

Xerine, being Tranſported with Joy, by the help of her Slave, carryed him to the Bank of the River *Mucazen*, which runs through thoſe Plaines; where ſhe waſh't, and bound up his Wounds, ſending *Laura* to a little houſe hard by, for ſome body to remove him from thence. A Mariner did that good Office, carrying him with his Boat into a ſmall Iſland, but Inhabited, at the Mouth of the River; for which ſhe well rewarded him.

The Allyance, which *Don Sebaſtian* had with *Muley Mahomet*, made his Death neceſſary to the Peace of the new King *Hamet*; ſo that

that *Xerine* fear'd equally the Life, & Liberty of her Lover, if he fell into his hands: she tended, and dreſt him, till his Recovery; One Day ſaying to him; *Heaven will not deprive* Portugal *of it's King; But has made your* Xerine *happy, in ſaving her Dear* Don Sebaſtian's *Life.* The Wounded Man ſoon found the Princeſſes Error, without intending to undeceive her; but uſing his Endeavour to confirm her miſtake, from which he foreſaw ſuch happy Conſequences; Therefore, gave her Infinite Thanks, deſiring ſhe would *inform* him, how ſhe diſtinguiſh't him among the Dead; of which ſhe told him the Particulars. This ſhewed him *Xerine*'s Birth, and Engagement with *Don Sebaſtian*, whom he ſtudyed to perſonate, which he might with Impunity; for he reſembled him much (a Prodigious and incredible thing!) even to ſeveral Moles, and Natural Marks on his Body.

Xerine, underſtood by thoſe, whom ſhe had ſent to enquire for News, that King *Sebaſtian* was drowned, in his endeavouring to ſave himſelf; but none could find his Body. This Truth ſhe thought an Error; as ſhe believed her own Error true; promiſing her ſelf no leſs, than to be Queen of *Portugal*; and thinking her Care, kind Words, and obliging Promiſes, well beſtowed on that Subject.

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The *Portugueze* having ſpirit enough, to ſupport this Caprice of Fortune, ſoon perceived by the Princeſſes Diſcourſe, that *Muley Boabdelin*, a Prince of the Blood Royal of *Morocco*, had always been a Friend to *Don Sebaſtian*: He ſent him word, that the King of *Portugal* was not dead; and if he would come to the Iſland of *Mucazen*, he ſhould hear of him. *Muley Boabdelin* came in great haſte, with the Envoy *Xerine* ſent, leaving the fartheſt Part of the Province *Hoſcore*, whither he was fled, to avoid the Tyranny of *Muley Moluc*, generally called *Abdelmeleck*: When he Arrived, he was deceived by the reſemblance, as the Princeſs had been. There was great Embracing, careſſing, and mutual kindneſs betwixt them: By him, the Falſe *Sebaſtian* was informed, That his Uncle, the *Cardinal Don Henry*, Reigned in his ſtead, by the conſent of the People. This News much diſturbed him; believing it very difficult to diſpoſſeſs him. *Muley Boabdelin* was of his Opinion; they both concluded it proper to ſound the Inclinations of the *Portugueze*, and try to Oblige the Principal Miniſters of State, to Aſſert and Maintain their Monarch's Right, before he ſhould expoſe himſelf to the Policies of the New King, This *Mooriſh Prince*, at the ſame time, offering *Xerine*,

rine, and her Lover, a retreat in *Hoscore*, where he was so well fortified, that he had no occasion to fear any thing.

They all agreed not to Publish any report of *Don Sebastian*'s being alive, till he were in a Condition of Possessing his Crown: But to Authorize what the Princess had done in his Favour, *Muley* Advised him to marry *Xerine*, which she also wish't; believing by that tye, her hopes secured. This Effect of his likeness to *Don Sebastian*, made him desirous to taste the Fruit of it; he was charmed with the Beauty, and Passion of the Princess; and had Reason to be so: Therefore fulfilled her desire, with as much Joy, as Speed: By this becoming Victorious, and the most happy of Mankind. But when he had thus made what Advantages he could, the private Negotiation of *Portugal* seemed too slow; so he resolved to go, and manage his Affairs there in Person: Upon which, *Xerine* and he had many Discourses. *Europe*, (said she, one day to him) Asia, *or* Affrick, *are all equal to me, provided I have you with me: Do not then refuse me the Pleasure of following you: 'Tis a Debt to my Love: Let me not be so unhappy, to find any other thing more Powerful in your Soul; since I have the Glory of Contributing to your Establishment,*

when

when Pretentions had been Vain, without me.

Theſe tender Expreſſions ſeemed Reproaches to *Sebaſtian*; they offended him, which troubled *Xerine*, at laſt they differ'd, and that Difference gave him an opportunity which he lookt for: He had Learned from her, the moſt Particular Affairs of the true *Sebaſtian*; and in theſe Tranſports of their Love, he ask her, *What Part of his Conduct, had moſt ſenſibly touch't her*; *that*, (as he ſaid) *he might often repeat, what he had Practiſed with Succeſs*? The Princeſs ingenuouſly told him, It was the ſlighting *Mary* of *Portugal*, whom he refuſed to Marry, for her ſake: *Beſides* (ſaid ſhe) *that Princeſs was very Beautiful, and Loved you much, as you did her, before you knew me.*

He well might Love her, for ſhe was a Princeſs of Infinite Wit, whoſe Body and Mind were equally Admirable; her Meen was modeſt, and yet Majeſtick; ſhe was of a moſt accompliſh't Beauty; and indeed, the moſt admirable of that Age. I cannot Read her Character, in *Fam. Strada's History of the Wars of Flanders*, without being charmed with the Merit and Vertue of this Princeſs; whom, in the abſence of *Don Sebaſtian*, the King of *Spain*, *Philip the Second*, gave to her Couſin-German in Marriage, being Brother and Siſter's Children:

dren: This was that Great and most Renowned Souldier of his Time, *Alexander Farnese*, Duke of *Parma*, the King's Nephew; who did him those Eminent Services, as Governour of the *Low Countrys*. This Princess spake *Latine* Elegantly, understood the *Greek* Tongue, was perfectly Mistress of the *Mathematicks*, a Great Judge of *Philosophy*, and Familiar in the *Holy Scriptures*, of both *Testaments*: And with all this, was of an admirable Innocence of Manners, and a Holy Life. Of all which, the said *Strada* gives us the Relation.

The Pretended *Sebastian*, being furnished with these Instructions, and above all, with those he had cunningly drawn from *Xerine*; took an Opportunity to cross the Sea, about Fourteen or Fifteen Years after the Battle of *Alcazer*, Landing in *Italy*; where the Princess was then a Widdow; The *Hero*, her Husband, dying at *Arras*, in the Six and Fortieth Year of his *Age*, the Second Day of *December*, 1591. People of this *Sebastian's* Character, use not to be ignorant of any Circumstance or thing, which concerns their Relations. He came to *Parma*, where he sent the Dutchess word, that a Gentleman of *Portugal* had something to tell her, which he could declare to none but herself.

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The Dutcheſs had lately received an account by a *Courrier* from *Lisbone*, of the Death of the Cardinal *Don Henry*, who laſt filled that Throne, which ſhe now demanded for her Son *Rainuccio*; ſhe being the Daughter of *Edward*, one of the Sons of King *Don Emanuel*.

There were alſo other Pretenders to this Crown of *Portugal*, ſuch was *Emanuel Philibert*, Duke of *Savoy*, by his Mother *Beatrix*, a Daughter of King *Don Emanuel*. *Katharine*, the Siſter of *Mary*, joyned her Right, with that of the Duke of *Braganza*, a Prince of the Blood Royal of *Portugal*, for her Son *Theodoſio*; and who indeed, by the Law of *Lamega*, which (as they affirm) excludes a Forreigner from the Throne of *Portugal*, had the moſt juſt Pretence to it. *Catharine de Medicis*, Queen of *France*, claimed it, though at greater diſtance. And *Pope Paul the Fourth*, came in with his Title; ſaying, That Crown was a Fief of the *Holy-See*, and therefore at his Diſpoſal. *Philip the Second*, King of *Spain*, was Son of *Iſabel*, Daughter of the ſame King *Don Emanuel*, and *Mary* his Wife, was yet nearer, being Daughter of *Don John the Third*, Son and Succeſſor to *Don Emanuel*. He was the neareſt in Blood, the nigheſt Neighbour, and the moſt Potent; ſo got Poſſeſſion of

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the Crown; but not without fighting for it, by Sea and Land. The Naval-Fight, which his Admiral, the *Marquis de Santa Cruz*, obtained of *Peter Strozzi*, a *Florentine*, and Marſhal of *France*; who undertook by Force, to diſpute the Title of *Catharine de Medicis*, his Miſtreſs, and kinſwoman, was no ſmall Part of *Philip's* good Fortune.

The Three Eſtates of the Kingdom of *Portugal*, were Aſſembled, to determine this great Controverſy, when *Don Sebaſtian* appeared in *Italy*.

The Dutcheſs of *Parma* had alſo her mind filled with theſe things; but when ſhe perceived Him, ſhe gave a ſhrieck, and ran to the Other end of her Cloſet, much aſtoniſhed. *I bring you* (Madam, ſaid he, approaching her) *Extraordinary news, which will much ſurprize you; the King* Don Sebaſtian *is alive, and not far from hence, not much diſtant from you, for he now ſpeaks to you. What Madam*, (continued he, without heſitating) *does then* Don Sebaſtian *Fright you? He hoped, that a better Reception would have been the reward of thoſe pains, he has endured to find you.* At the tone of his Voice, the Dutcheſſes trouble was ſo great, ſhe could neither ſpeak, nor move out of her place. *Recollect your ſelf, my dear Cozen,*

Gozen (said he, with a Passionate Air) *I am no Phantasme, but the same* Don Sebastian, *you once honoured with your Favour; and now returned, as full of your* Idea, *as I was before I went to* Africa.

With these Discourses, the Dutchess came to her self, and suffer'd the False *Don Sebastian* to approach nearer, giving him her hand; and when she was assured, that this pretended Monarch, was a Man, and no Ghost; *Ah, my Lord!* (said she) *Whence are you come? where have you been so long hid? And by what Miracle are you among the Living? When you are in a Condition to hear me* (replyed *Don Sebastian*) *I will answer you all this: But first, be not so disturbed; and believe, that I am really the King of* Portugal, *and if neither my Stature, nor my Face assure it, let the Passion of my Eyes convince you. I have now recovered my Spirits* (said the Princess, sitting down by him) *and confess your Sight did affright me, above my Power of commanding my Disturbance: But, Sir, all is now dissipated: Therefore, pray tell me, to what Wonder we owe your Life, and return to Love.* *Madam,* (answered *Sebastian*) *a Passion, that had once made me touch your Heart, must needs defend me from all Accidents.* Then he told her, how *Xerive* found him among the Dead, his getting into the Isle of *Mucazen*,

and his Living at *Hostare*; but carefully conceal'd how *Don Sebastian* had Loved *Xerine*, before that Action; and more, his Marriage to her in *Africa*: Though that Princess used her utmost Power with *Muley Boabdelin*, her Cozen, and a Prince of the Blood Royal, to oblige him to it, by allaring him, the Princess *Mary* was Married to the Duke of *Parma*: But said, that some time after, being informed she was a Widow, He escaped (as he pretended) with difficulty, out of Prison, and came to lay himself at her Feet, so full of Love, that he had Lived on the very Thoughts of being esteemed by her. *Why then* (said the Dutchess) *did you not Write to me? That I did many times* (reply'd he); *and doubtless Xerine, who hoped that from my Misfortunes, which she could not expect from my Re-establishment, gave such Orders, as prevented their coming to your hand. My Restraint was very severe; I was treated like a Valued Lover, and had no Opportunity, or Liberty to deliver my self from that Title.*

The Dutchess must needs be Transported at the Recital of a Constancy, so well invented. She Ordered an Apartment for him, whom she thought the King (her Cousin) together with an Equipage, in all respects Suitable; and sent for the most Intel-

ligent Persons, to depute to the Estates of *Portugal*, on his behalf; which Deputation extreamly surprized them. They sent Six of the Chief in their Assembly (of whom some had been Ministers to *Don Sebastian*) to see their Monarch. Their Eyes assured them, he was the same; they ask'd him several Questions, which they thought *Don Sebastian* only could Answer. But he was so well instructed by *Acerine*, as convinced the Ambassadors, that none but He in the World, could so reply. Insomuch, that they assured the Estates, he was really their King. Those who were interested against him, accused him of being a Counterfeit, and Practizer of Deceit, requiring this *Sebastian* to go, and be present in Person, at the General Assembly of Estates, to be Interrogated there in Form concerning his Pretentions. While those who were affectionate to the Memory and Person of *Don Sebastian*, thought there was no Security in that Demand. The Kingdom was hereupon divided; *Those* were called *Royalists*, who adhered to the King; and *Those* who declared for the several Princes, pretending to the Crown, *Leaguers*.

During these Disorders, he that caused them, lived at *Parma*, expecting an Army should take the Field for his Interest. At

the Head of which, he intended to demand, what he said was his Right.

This supposed Prince, after some time, fell into disgrace with the Dutchess of *Parma*; I know not whether or no, by the Accident, which *Mademoiselle des Jardins* relates on this manner: That one Day, walking with her by the side of that Canal, which is one of the most Beautiful Things belonging to the Palace of *Farnese*, she observed the Ribbon of a Letter-Case hanging out of his Pocket, which she softly pulled out; wherein she found Letters, and Verses, that discovered his Love, some of them having the Greatest Liberties of his Marriage with *Xerine*, for their Subject. This so possest the Dutchess with Rage, and Jealousy, that she destroy'd all she had before done for him, and declared him an *Impostor*.

Xerine came soon after into *Portugal*, to sollicite the Establishment of her Husband; purely moved by her own Conjugal Affection, notwithstanding his Ingratitude; and had she done before he had left the Dutchess, her Resentment might have been more Fatal. *Mademoiselle des Jardins*, contrary to the Idea that *Strada* gives of her, says, Herangon was the more Justifyable, having granted this *Counterfeit Sebastian*, many innocent Favours, which this Accident made

made her think Criminal.

Her Aversion bearing a Proportion to her Former Kindness, made her fly from one Extream to another. She sent, and declared to the Estates, That he was a *Counterfeit*, which she had discovered by the many Contradictions, and different Stories she found him in; Making a Voyage into *Portugal*, more to raise him Enemies for his Perfidiousness, than for the obtaining her Son *Rainuccio* that Crown. And as her Anger saw plainer, than her Love; so it was more Active.

The Circumstances of the true *Sebastians* Death, were examined by the Assembly of the Estates: His defeat at *Tamiffa*, was not so general, but that several Persons of Note could give an Account of their Princes Fate. They all affirmed, They had followed him to the Side of the River *Mutchen*: Some added, They saw him drowned there: And others said, They had like to have perish't, by endeavouring to Save him. This Story no way agreed with what *Xerine* affirmed, of finding him in the middle of the Battle. But that which made most against him, was, the Account she gave of the Cloths he was wounded in. The Kings Officers affirming, that they were no way like those he had on that Day's

But Nature had made the Subject, so like the Prince, and he so supported the Resemblance by his Wit, and Courage, that they knew not what to resolve. The more they examined, the greater Difficulties arose. It was a horrid Crime, to refuse their Lawful Prince, his Crown: And it could be no less, to give it to an *Impostor*. But the Death of the *Counterfeit*, determined the Matter.

The Politicians look't on this Union, of *Don Sebastian* with the *Moors*, as very dangerous to *Portugal*: He had Married *Xerizes*, by a most Signal Infidelity, charmed with her Beauty, before he came to *Affrica*: She drew him from among the Dead, and was Married to him, before the Old Prince *Baabdelin*, at *Hescore*; and it was impossible to bring any Obstacle, by reason of the Difference of Religion; she having promised to become a *Christian*, and kept her word as soon as she Landed in *Portugal*. *Mademoiselle des Jardins*, says, The Pretended *Sebastian* was, with an Army raised in his Favour, upon the Frontiers of *Portugal*; where it is separated from the Kingdom of *Oviedo*; and that, being obliged to Fight, his Ambition made his Courage so rash, that he was made a Prisoner, and carried to *Lisbon*; where his Adversaries talked of no

less,

less, than punishing his Insolence by a shameful Death. But this supposed King died in Prison, leaving great Suspicions, that his Death was hastened. He desired to see *Xerine*, before he dyed; and the last Breath being a Touch-Stone, to the Artifices of Life, he confest to this Princess of *Morocco*, That he was not the King of *Portugal*; and Conjured her, not to disturb the Election, after his Death.

This Declaration he found necessary, for the Peace of his Conscience; *Xerine* having had a Son by him, who might have caused much disturbance. He could not make such a Confession, without great Signes of Remorse; Crying, *Ah, Madam! I have deceived you more ways than one; yet I can but weakly reproach my self for the Deceit, which made me your Husband: I should do it more, not to have used it, when in my Power; than I can think my self Guilty, for the accepting so great a Glory. But Madam, That which makes me Dye in Despair is, That once I ceased to Love you, for the hopes of a Crown, which I obtained not; and which a Thousand Accidents might take from me, if I had gained it; I was on the point of Renouncing a Heart, that all the Diadems upon Earth could not justly Merit. Afflict not your self, Said the Generous Princess, with a too late and*

 unuseful

unuseful Repentance: I Loved the Person of Don Sebastian, *more than the Splendour of his Condition. I thought, I had met that Person in you: Those charmes, which first touch't me, have lost none of their Priviledge, because they were not placed in a Monarch: though I confess, I should never have observed them in an Ordinary Man: Neither my Spirit, nor my Birth, would have permitted me to Consider whom I had not thought a Prince; but my Error became dear to me; and is so still, for all it is Fatal to my Peace. The Name of* Husband *is so sacred to a Woman truely Vertuous, that it wipes out any Stain, which accompanies it: Therefore, try to overcome your Illness, my dear Prince, (pardon that Name!) Fortune,* (said she, lifting her Eyes to Heaven) *might have given it, where she gave me. Rescue your self from the Arms of Death, if it be possible; it may be, we may find you a Happiness more serene and easy; than that which is denied you in* Portugal.

He was so moved with this Excess of Generosity, that he could no longer suffer the Transports of it: But expired in the Arms of thy Passionate *Xerine*, whose Soul, with much difficulty, staid behind.

This Man had, in the highest Degree, abused the Princesses mistake; and the unconstancy which followed the first Fault,

was

was more Injurious, than the Crime it self. But *Xerine* truely Loved the Counterfeit *Don Sebastian*, and religiously fulfilled his Desire, as soon as her Grief permitted; retiring into *Affrica*, without giving the least Disturbance to the Competitors of the Crown.

I acknowledge to have borrowed the most agreeable Part of this Relation, from *Mademoiselle des Jardins*, her *Annales Gallantes*. *P. Mathieu*, in his History of *Henry the Great*, says, That *Sebastian* wandred through many of the Courts of *Italy*, till he fell into the hands of the *Viceroy of Naples*; who sent him to *Philip the Second* King of *Spain*; By an Effect of whose Policy, he dyed in Prison, out of the sight of the World, and without Witnesses. He passed through all Christendom, except in *Portugal*, since the late Revolutions in 1639, for an *Impostor*.

THE

CHAP. X.

THE LIFE OF THE COUNTERFEIT Voldemar,

Elector and Marquis of *Brandenbourg*.

THis Man has past for an *Impostor*, in the Opinion of most Historians; as *Hen.* the *Monk* of *Rebdorff*, in his Chronicle; *John Cuspinian*, in his *Lives of the Emperors*; *Nicholas Lutinger* in his *Life of* Frederic, *the First of that Name, Elector of* Brandenburg; and *John Lennelavius*, in his *Pandects*

dents of the Turkish History, &c. For my own Part, after examining the Circumstances of his Story, I am apt to conclude in his Favour, and pity this Princes Difasters, in losing his Country, and being decryed by so many Pens for a *Counterfeit*, and placed in the number of *Notorious Impostors*, whose Lives we treat of. But this is the true History.

Voldemar the Second, Marquis and Elector of *Brandenburg*, was the Thirteenth descended in a Right Line, from *Albert de L'Ours*, of the Family of the Earls of *Ascagne*, who bore that Dignity: From which *Albert* are also descended the Dukes of *Saxon Lawemburg*, and the Princes of *Anhalt*.

Voldemar was the Son of *Henry*, stiled *Without Land*, who dyed in 1318. and of *Agnes*, or as others say, *Matilda de Sangerhuse*; the two Electors, *John the Third*, and *Voldemar the First*, who preceded him, were his great Uncles, whom he Succeeded.

He had scarcely been three years *Elector*, when a Fit of Devotion, according to the Custom of those Times, perswaded him to go a Pilgrimage to the *Holy Land*. He left his Brother *John the Fourth*, in Possession of his Country; and discharged all his

his Servants, except two, whom he reserved for his Voyage; not giving his Brother, his Relations, nor Subjects, any Account which way he travelled, nor what adventures befell him in his Journey. For indeed, there were then no Posts in use, it being difficult sending from Forreign Countrys, unless by expres Messengers.

Voldemar believed he had taken sufficient Care of the Succession, his Brother being only left alive, of the Eldest Branch; though in a short time, there had been Nineteen Persons of the same; who by Wars, and Inveterate contentions, for Avarice and Ambition, drew *God's displeasure* on the Family, and were suddenly scattered, like the Dust of the Earth. He obliged his Subjects, not to receive the Princes of *Anhalt*, who were of their House of the *Counts* of *Ascagne*, for thir Sovereigns, in Case his Brother and He should dye without Heirs. This their Subjects had Sworn justly to obey and execute? But it not being Authorized by the *Electors*, nor approved in the Empire; the Emperor *Lewis* thought he had Power to dispose of it, when he should receive News of *Voldemar's* Death.

He left his Country in the Year, 1322, and appeared not till Three and Twenty Years after, being in 1345. His Brother, who

who govern'd in his Absence, dyed four and Twenty Days after he departed. I know not whether by Sickness or Poison. However, *Lewis of Bavaria*, then possessing the Empire, disposed of the Electorate, investing in it his Eldest Son *Lewis*, by his First Wife *Beatrix* of *Poland*, as a vacant Fief of the Empire.

Most of the *German* Histories tell this much in Favour of the House of *Bavaria*, as follows.

Rodolph, Duke and Elector of *Saxony*, design'd to take the Electorate of *Brandenbourg*, from *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, Son to the Emperor *Lewis the Fourth*, who had Invested him in it, after the Death of *John the Fourth*, State-holder, and Governor of *Brandenburg*, in the Absence of *Voldemar*, his Elder Brother. *Rodolph* pretended, that being of the House of *Ascagne*, of which *Voldemar* was the Head, He ought to possess it, before any Other; or, at least, some Prince of his Family, since Two Electorates could not possibly be in one, and the same Person.

The better to compass his Design, he reported his Cousin, the Elector *Voldemar*, was alive, who had not appeared in Twenty Three Years; Till understanding how matters went, after many Pilgrimages to

Holy

Holy Places, like an ordinary Man, and having escap't from the Captivity, and Imprisonment of the Infidels, he was now returned to his Country; and to personate this Prince, he brought on the Stage, for a Principal Actor in this Tragedy, a Miller of *Landreslaw*, or as others say of *Beltzsize*, called *James Rebok*, a Cunning Fellow, and a Subtle Lyer, being near the Age of *Voldemar*, with something of his Meen, & Shape; as much as so many years absence, the changing of his Hair, the Misery and Trouble he had suffered, with the Weakness of Age, could allow or perswade. He had Lived many Years in *Saxony*, where he was throughly instructed, in the Life and Family of *Voldemar*. His Application and Address, made his Deceit very Successful; for to all Persons he seemingly gave eminent Proofs, that he was no Counterfeit, but the true *Marquis Voldemar*.

The noise of his Return from *Palestine*, and *Turky*, where he had so many Years been detained, spread through the Country, and all *Germany* over; he being assisted by the Emperor *Charles the Fourth*, who was also King of *Bohemia*, Grand-son of the Emperor *Henry the Seventh*, who brought that Dignity into his Family, of *Luthzelburg*. This Prince recommended him to the

Cyrcles

Cycles of the Empire, and severely treating many of his Enemies. The Occasion of his Enmity to *Lewis the Elector*, was because he got from his Brother *Henry*, *Margaret* Countess of *Tyrol*, with her vast Fortune.

His other Friends were the Dukes of *Brunswick*, *Pomerania*, and *Mekelbourg*, the Arch-Bishop of *Magdebourg*, Primate of *Germany*, besides Fifteen others: The most Zealous for his Interest, being those of his own Family, the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Princes of *Anhalt*; so that he wanted very little, of expelling the Elector *Lewis of Bavaria*.

Voldemar, presently Summoned an Assembly, in the Year 1348. The Circle, and near all the Nobility of the Marquisate, acknowledging him for their Prince, reiterated their Loyalty and Homage, being transported with Joy to see their Antient Master.

His Old Subjects, either touched with the Misfortunes, and Calamities, which he had suffred; or pleased with Novelty, being weary of the *Bavarian* Dominion; after having Experimented the Glory and Justice of *Voldemars* Family, the space of One Hundred and Eighty Years; They lent him Mony, to acquire his Right, and drive

drive out *Lewis*. All the Citys in the Marquisate declaring for him except *Francfort* on the *Oder*, *Spandaw*, and *Brizack*.

Lutzinger observes in the Two and Twentieth Book of his *Commentarys of Brandenburg*, that the Family of *Lockhow*, one of the Greatest in the Marquisate, continued on *Lewis*'s Side; having the Principal Commands in his Army, during the War, which lasted Nine Years, with various Success, according to the Chance of Fortune.

Voldemar King of *Denmark*, whose Name seemed a good Augury to *Voldemar* the Elector, was nevertheless quite contrary; for *Carion*, in the Fifth *Book* of his *Chronicle*, says, He was the First that stop'd the Course of his Victorys, and prevented his absolute Repossessing his Country.

Cassimir, King of *Poland*; *Lewis*, called the *Roman*, for his being Born at *Rome*, Brother by a Second Venter to the Elector *Lewis*; the Duke of *Stetin*, (that Dutchy being then separate from *Pomerania*) with many Lords of *Poland* and *Silesia*, then assisted *Lewis*: Notwithstanding which, *Voldemar* the Assailant, gain'd a very Signal Battle, absolutely defeating the Army of *Lewis* his Rival, commanded by *Lewis* the *Roman* his Brother; who very hardly himself escaped: The Duke *Rodolph*, *Palatine*

of

of the *Rhyne*, with Seventy nine Gentlemen, bearing Shields of Arms; of which number were Forty of *Poland*; Fourteen being of the Family of *Lettizia*, he made Prisoners of War, and Trophies of his Victory.

This Blow extreamly lessened *Lewis*'s Courage, and reduced his Affairs to such a Point, that many Cities opened their Gates to the Governour.

Lewis, tired with the War, (which, according to *Carion*, in his Life of the Emperour *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, lasted Nine whole Years; though *Lunclavius*, in his *German History*, mentions Three only) went into his Earldom of *Tyrol*, which he had had by his Wife *Margaret*, Daughter of *Henry* Duke of *Carinthia*, and Earl of *Tyrol*, leaving the *Marquisate* and *Electorate* of *Brandenbourg* to his Brothers, *Lewis* of the same Name, sirnamed the *Roman*, with *Otho* his Youngest: The Emperour *Charles the Fourth* confirming by his Letter Patents at *Budissine*, in the Year 1350. his Transferring the *Electorate* to his two said Brothers.

This Emperour *Charles* had (as we may say) extreamly longed for the *Electorship*; being vext, that the Emperour *Lewis* of *Bavaria* had been more Fortunate than he,

indisposing it to his Eldest Son, when the Death of *Voldemar* was reported. *Lewis*, the Eldest of the Three Brothers, in Possession of *Brandenbourg*, deceased in 1361. and *Maynard*, his Eldest Son, left the World before he was Fourteen Years old, though Married, yet having no Heirs: He was born in 1349. and dyed in 1363. The Two remaining Brothers, the *Roman* and *Otho*, consented by their Agreement with the Emperour *Charles*, to exclude their neareſt Relations, if they dyed without Heirs Male; and substitute *Winceslaus*, his Eldest Son, Elector: But if neither He nor the Emperour left a Son, then it should pass to *John*, Marquis of *Moravia*. They allowed *Winceslaus* to use the Arms and Title of Marquis of *Brandenbourg*; obliging their Subjects to swear Allegiance to him. This Agreement was signed at *Norenberg*, in 1363. where it is still to be seen.

Now the *Roman* dying without Children, in 1366. left in possession hereof *Otho* his Brother, Son-in-law to the Emperour, by the Marriage of his Daughter *Agnes*; who being also without Children, consented to sell the *Marquisate* and *Electorate* of *Brandenbourg*, in his Life-time, for Two Hundred Thousand *Hungarian* Ducats,

years, to the same Emperour *Charles*, his Father-in-law, and to his Eldest Son *Wincesslaus*; there being delivered to *Otho* several Towns in *Bohemia*, and Pawns for a Security till Payment of the whole Sum.

Thus the *Electorate* of *Brandenbourg*, after having (with various Fortune) been One and Fifty Years possest by *Woldemar*, and his Party; was, by the Three Sons of the Emperour *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, conveyed into the Family of *Luxtelbourg*; where it remained Four and Forty Years, being governed by *State-holders*, in the Reigns of the Emperours, *Wincesslaus* and *Sigismond*; which last sold, and absolutely disposed of both this *Marquisate* and *Electorate* to his Favourite *Fredrich de Zoltern*, the Burgrave of *Nuremberg*, whom he had before made Governour: Giving him the Investiture, at the Council of *Constance*, with great Ceremony, the last Day of *April*, being the Eve of St. *Philip* and *Jacob*, and the Year 1415. Since which time, the Heirs-Male, descended in a Right line, from the before-mentioned *Frederick*, have justly possest, and gloriously governed the Countries of the *Marquisate* and *Electorate* of *Brandenbourg*.

But let us return to *Woldemar*. What *Lunclavius* says of his being Condemned,

and Burnt alive for his *Imposture*, is not true; though he affirms it in the *Chronicle of Germany*, Translated by him. But it is most certain, that he died of a Natural Death; not at a Place called *Korchet*, or at *Stendeil*, in 1332; but at *Dessau*, in 1354, Nine Years after his Return; and was buried in the Chappel called *The Holy Ghost*, which is the ordinary Place of Sepulture for the Princes of *Anhalt*, as is testified by the Chronicle of *Magdebourg*.

The Reasons, which oblige me to believe he was the True *Voldemar*, contrary to the Opinion of those Historians whom we have cited, are the Attestations of the Princes of his Family, who then were the Electors of *Saxony*, the Dukes of *Lawembourg*, and the Princes of *Anhalt*; which two last Branches are still in being.

These Princes would not have so much abused themselves, to give such Honour to an *Impostor*, nor have mingled his Ashes with Theirs; who, without doubt, are one of the most Illustrious Sovereign Houses of *Europe*. I have heard *John George*, Head of the House of *Anhalt*, Earl of *Ascagne*, Lord of *Zerbst* and *Bernberg*, Governour of the Provinces of the *Marquisate* of *Brandenbourg*, say, That he kept his Seal, and believed him the True *Elector*.

Secondly, The Arch-bishop of *Magdeburg*, Primate of *Germany*, a Man of great Vertue, would never have yeelded him; there being no Advantage in doing it, and giving an ill Example to so many People: Nor would the Emperor *Charles the Fourth*, (of whom we have been speaking) and those other Princes, have exposed their Lives, and caused the Effusion of so much Blood for an *Impostor*.

Thirdly, The ill Agreement where this pretended *Counterfeit* was born: Sometimes he was a Miller of *Landreslain*; at other times, of *Beltzick*, which convinces me, it is rather an Imposture to perswade it.

And further, There was a Letter from the *Electoral Colledge*, writ to the *Pope*, at that time, who had been a *Cisterian Monk*, named *James Tournier*, but then *Benner the Twelfth*, born at *Saverdun*, in the Earldom of *Foix*. This Letter was sent Sixteen Years after his Absence, and Seven before his Return; in which his Name is with the rest of the *Electors*, *Henry*, Arch Bishop of *Mayence*, Dean of the *Electoral-Colledge*, is the first after him; *Baldwin* Arch-Bishop of *Trevers*, *Waltram* of *Collen*, and this *Voldemar*, the First of the Secular Electors; that is, before *Rodolph* Palatine, and *Ro-*

dolph Duke of *Saxony*, contrary to the common Method of Precedence; for sometimes the Younger let the Elder precede them, out of Respect, as the Elector of *Saxony* did to *Joachim*, the Second Elector of *Brandenbourg*, whom he always called *Father*. Though there is no Date to this Letter, it declares, *That they agreed on the Fifteenth of July 1338, to meet at* Rinsse *on the* Rhyne, *near* Franckfort, *and treat of Affairs of Importance; which was to advertise the* Pope, *that neither He, nor his Successors, could have any thing to do in the Election of Emperors, either by their Consent, Approbation, or Confirmation, or any other Matter belonging to it: as likewise, to oblige him to revoke his Excommunication against the Emperour* Lewis. This Letter is to be seen in the Archives of the *Elector Palatine*. The ingenious *Marquard Freherus*, one of his Councellors, has inserted it in a Volume of the *German History*, from *Charlemaine* to *Frederick the Third*.

It is to be observed, that the Family of the *Palatinate*, is the same with *Bavaria*, and made War to extirminate *Voldemar*, as an *Impostor*: Therefore there was much Contradiction and Absurdity in these *Elector's* Proceedings; who writ to the *Pope*, in favour of the Emperour *Lewis* of *Bavaria*,

ris, who had given the *Electorate* of *Brandenbourg* to his Son, as vacant by the Death of *Voldemar*, in putting his Name to this Letter, if they believed him Dead; for that was doing a notable Prejudice to *Lewis*, Son of this Emperour, who then poſſeſt the Dignity of *Elector*, and the *Marquiſate*, to own in his Place the abſent *Voldemar*, whom they believed was dead. They knew, that *Lewis* bore a mighty Hatred to the Houſe of *Aſcagne*, the two *Electors* of that Family, *Rodolph* Duke of *Saxony*, and *Voldemar the Firſt*, having oppoſed his Election, declaring for *Frederick* of *Auſtria*, his Rival in the Empire, in the year 1313, at the Diet of *Franckfort*. *Voldemar the Firſt* ſtarving *Nicholaus Booch*, his Envoy, in Priſon, for falſifying his Letters of *Procuration*, razing out the Name of *Frederick*, to inſert that of *Lewis*, contrary to his Maſter's Intention and Pleaſure.

All theſe Conſiderations make me reaſonably conclude, they either thought him Living, and had ſome News of him; or were perſwaded, the Emperour *Lewis* only gave his Son the Adminiſtration of the *Marquiſate* and *Electorate* of *Brandenbourg*, till he returned, or his Death was better confirmed.

It is almoſt impoſſible, he ſhould die in a ſtrange Country, and tell no Body who he was; as likewiſe, that the Emperour *Lewis* of *Bavaria* ſhould ſend no Meſſengers, to be aſſured of the Place and Circumſtances of his Death, when it would have ſaved him ſo much Trouble, and ſecured ſo rich a Prize.

How many Examples are there, of Princes, who have quitted their Country, thro' the ſame Motives that *Voldemar* did? *William* Duke of *Guienne*, and Earl of *Poitou*, whoſe eldeſt Daughter and Heireſs, *Elenor*, was repudiated by *Lewis the Seventh*, King of *France*, called the *Young*, and Married to *Henry the Second*, King of *England*, in the year 1152, alſo of the Old Blood of the Earls of *Anjou*; which Lady became the occaſion of moſt cruel Wars between thoſe Martial Nations, while her Father went on Pilgrimage to St. *James of Galicia*, feigning himſelf Dead; he, in the mean time, travelling like a miſerable, unknown Wretch, about the World, that he might exerciſe thoſe rude Pennances for his Crimes, after his Death being made a Saint, to eternize his Memory.

Fiacre, Son of *Eugenius*, the Fourth King of *Scotland*, lived a Hermite, unknown to all, near *Meaux* in *France*; chuſing a Spade

before

before a Scepter: Him also they made a Saint.

Julius Sabinus, an Illustrious *Gaul*, near *Langres*; who boasted, that he was descended from *Julius Cæsar*; and in the time of the Civil War between *Vitellius Otho*, and *Vespasian*, caused himself to be proclaimed Emperour, by several Legions; but having the worst in Fight, lived Nine Years in a Cave, with his dearly beloved Wife *Eponina*; where, in the greatest Extremity of Poverty, he had several Children by her; but could not so conceal himself, to avoyd Death by the Cruelty of the Emperour *Vespasian*, who destroyed him, with his Wife and Children.

The Proverb says, *Ill gotten Goods are soon lost*: Which was verified in the Posterity of *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, Marquis of *Brandenbourg*; for neither He, nor his two Brothers, *Lewis* the *Roman*, nor *Otho*, ever possest it quietly; but were constrain'd to abandon it to the Emperour *Charles the 4th*.

Thus (as *Carion* concludes in the *Fifth Book* of his *Chronicle*) the *Bavarians* were deprived of this *Electorate* and *Marquisate* of *Brandenbourg*, by the same Deceits which they had used to frustrate the Princes of *Anhalt*, after the Absence and Death of *Voldemar*, who were justly the next Heirs.

THE

CHAP. XI.

THE False Mustapha, SON of BAJAZET (The First of that Name,) Emperor of the Turks.

THere's none can be so ignorant in History, as not to have heard of *Tamberlain*, Emperour of the *Tartars*, and of the Victory he gain'd over *Bajazet*, the First of that Name, Emperor of the *Turks*. In the *Turkish Annals*, these two Monarchs are called the one *Temir Can*, and the other, *Ildirim Can*. The Title *Can*, which signifies *King* or *Lord*, being commonly used to any other *Tartar* Prince, or *Turkish* Lord,

Lord. But the Name of *Tamberlain* or *Timberland*, was given him because he was Lame; which *Land* expresses in the *Persian* Tongue. Some called him *Temir Cutlis*, signifying in the *Turkish* Language, a *Fortunate Sword*. His Surnames were, *The Terrour and Desolation of the East*. *Terror & Clades Orientis*. He also stiled himself the *Wrath of God*, or *the Instrument of his Indignation*. As for *Bajazet*, he was Named *Gilderim*, or (as others say) *Hildrim*; which, in the Language of the *Tartars*, signifies *the Terrour of Thunder and Lightning*. The *Greeks* called him *Lelaps*, that is, a *Violent Torrent*. The Imposture of this False *Mustapha*, who called himself *the true Son of Bajazet*, (certainly believed to have been killed in this great Battle, where his Father was defeated, and made a Prisoner) obliges me to look backward, and tell you of *Bajazet*, with the Subject and Circumstances of the War.

Bajazet was a most Cruel, and Bloody Parricide; being the First, who taught the Princes of his Family, to Imbrew their Hands in the Blood of their nearest Relations; he causing his Brother *Jacup* or *Jacob* to be strangled, whom *Paulus Jovius* calls, *Solymon*. His Ambition was so great,

that

that without having any right, but the sharper *Scymitar*, he drove many Soveraign Princes out of their Countrys: As *Techrin*, Prince of *Erzingue*, or *Erzrum*, in the Greater *Armenia*, whom some call *Scander*, and make him King also of *Armenia*; together with the Prince of *Germian*, the *Duzinon*, or Lord of *Adem*, and others, sadly experimented. He had also much Afflicted *Constantinople*, and made great Devastations, in the Countrys of *Emanuel*, Emperour of the *East*.

These expelled Princes being thus cruelly used, went in Person to implore the Protection of *Tamberlain*, against the Tyranny and Injustice of *Bajazet*: The same *Greek* Emperour groaning under the severe Yoak of this Tyrant, paying him Three Hundred Thousand Crowns Tribute every Year; (*Tres myriadas Autiocum*, as *Curion* has it in his *Chronicle*) was constrained to surrender up the City of *Philadelphia* to him, which the Tyrant had so often Besieged in vain; giving him also Hostages, and being Obliged to furnish such number of Souldiers for his Wars; this made him also send Ambassadours, to represent his miserable condition.

Axalla, the bravest of *Tamberlain's* Generals, was a Christian of *Genoese* Extracti-

on,

on, born at *Copha* in *Taurica Chersonesus*, which was then a City, and Collony, under the Dominion of that State of *Genoa*. This generous Man endeavoured also by his entreaties, to perswade his Master to re-establish these Persecuted Princes, and beat down the Pride and Insolence of *Bajazet*. *Tamberlain* was pleased to hear him express what Glory it would be to his Reputation, if he should deliver the Emperour of *Constantinople*, and the other Princes, from so unjust a Tyranny. The *Tartar* was so sensibly touched with their Misfortunes, that he dispatched away a Herald, to require Justice on their behalf from *Bajazet*; at the same time, sending a very Rich Vest, which is always by them presented from a Superior to an Inferior.

This so enraged the *Turk*, that a War was soon declared; *Bajazet* bringing an Army of Eight Hundred Thousand Men into the Field, (*Paulus Jovius* says a Million.) where in a bloody Fight, he was absolutely defeated, and taken Prisoner. The *Turkish Annals* mention not the numbers of either Army, only that *Bajazet*'s was as numerous as *Tamberlain*'s. And that the Occasion of *Bajazet*'s defeat proceeded from the generosity of the *Tartars*, in freeing of *Dulst*, and other Nations, as *Germian*, *Mentez*, &c.

tes, &c. which *Bajazet* had subjugated, whose Princes were in *Tamberlains* Army.

There was none but *Bulcis* or *Bulcogli*, for so they called *George*, *Son of the Despot of Servia*, who followed not the good Example, endeavouring to exterminate the Tyrant, by abandoning him as the rest did. His Men behaved themselves so well (to the Glory of the Christians) that *Tamberlain* cry'd to those about him, *See how valiant and resolute those* Dervices *are!* *Proh quam feroces & truculenti; sunt isti Dervisii*; till some of his Great Officers told him, *They were Christians, and not that sort of Religious Turks, called* Dervices *&* Turlacks. The Victory fell on *Tamberlain*'s side, One Hundred and Fifty Thousand Men being Killed upon the Place. This Battle was Fought in the Year 1399, and according to the most probable Opinion, in the great Plain called *Cassobe*, or *Descanards*, near Mount *Stella*; Memorable for the Famous Defeat, that *Pompey the Great* gave there to *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*.

I find very different Accounts of this Action; but follow the *Turkish Annals*, which say, that *Zelebis*, or the *Noble Mustapha*, (the Name of *Zelebis* being given to all the Children of the *Turkish Emperor*) was killed in this Fight. And he being the

Subject

Subject of this Discourse, who must appear, and pretend to the *Ottoman* Empire, and dispute it with his Brothers, and with *Amurath the Second*, his Nephew; It seemed necessary to dispose the *Reader*, for the History and Adventures of this *Impostor*, by the recital of what preceded it, to give him a more full *Idea* and clear knowledge thereof.

The Disastors of his Father *Bajazet*, being so annexed to his Death, I will say something farther concerning them, without resting on what several Authors report of *Tamberlains* being the most Inhumane, and Bloody of Mankind; and of his Extraction from the meanest of the People; having been very well informed by that Excellent Book of this *Conqueror's Life*, Written by *Monsieur Saintyon*, which was taken from an *Arabian* Historian, called *Alhacen*; who was an Occular Witness of his Actions, and Military Expeditions, and familiar with him, (which Life is very different from that Written by one *Ahmed*, Son of *Gueraspes*, a Creature of the *Ottoman* Family, and by consequence an Enemy to *Tamberlain*.)

He was the Son of the Potent Monarch Og, King of *Sabeay* (or the antient *Parthia*) nearly related, and Successor to the Great

Cham,

Chan of *Tartary*: He had two Sons *Cham Sentrokius*, (which signifies *the Love of Mankind*) and *Letrokius*, whose Variance occasioned the Desolation of their Country. But he, for the Goodness of his Life, his Royal Vertues, and above all his Justice and Victories, might be equal'd with *Alexander the Great*: So far was he from those Vices of Cruelty, Barbarity, and Rage, which *Paulus Jovius* accuses him of, *Feritatem, truculentiam, ore truculento recedentibusque Oculis semper minaci.*

And the *Turkish Annals* call him Inhumane, for this reason, that when *Gilderum*, or *Bajazet* was taken, and brought to him, he conducted him to his Tent, receiving him on foot with great Honour: *Gilderum* was on Horse-back, because of his Wounds, supported by *Tamberlain's* People; and being brought in, they both sate down, and eat together: *Tamberlain* saying thus to him; *Prince, we ought to give God infinite thanks, and to sing Hymns of Praise to him, that he has given me, who am a poor Lame Man, so vast an Empire; extending from the furthest Parts of* India, *to the Gates of* Sivas, *which is* Sebaste: *And to Thee, from the Walls of this same City, to the Confines of* Hungary. God *having thus disposed so great a Part of the World between us, what*

can

can ſuch a Cripple as I, deſire of him more? 'Tis for thy his great Goodneſs, that we ought to make him our Acknowledgments: It may be, thou haſt not done this heretofore, as thou oughteſt; but haſt been ungrateful to his Bounty: for which Reaſon, this misfortune is come upon thee. *Philip Camerarius*, in the 54th. Chapter of his *Hiſtorical Meditations*, makes him continue it further, as follows: *Can we think the Soveraign Diſpoſer of the World, thought us the moſt worthy, to Command ſo many Millions, who are wiſer and ſtronger than we? That it ſhould pleaſe Him, that Thou, who art almoſt blind, ſhouldeſt be Emperor of the* Turks? *And I, who am a* Tartar, *and Lame, be the Soveraign of ſo many People? No certainly, it was not our Merit, but a pure Effect of his Grace and Bounty.*

Tamberlain ſent him Doggs and Hawks, either to divert him in his Trouble, or reproach his extraordinary Delight in thoſe Creatures. The *Turkiſh Hiſtory* ſaying, that *Gilderum* kept Seven Thouſand Faulconers, and Six Thouſand Doggs. He talked ſo inſolently to *Temir* on this Occaſion, that he expoſed him to the Contempt of his Army, ſetting him on a Mule, and commanding him to be led through it. Thus enduring the Mocks of

the Souldiers, and causing his Wife, the Daughter of *Eliazar*, the *Despot* of *Servia*, whom he passionately Loved, to wait half naked at his Table.

One Day *Temir*, or *Tamberlain*, asked him, and desired him to Answer ingenuously, *If he had fallen into his Power, how he would have used him?* *Gilderym*, or *Bajazet*, who was a Man of a terrible and cruel Temper, answered him in a Rage thus, *To say the Truth, if Fortune had given me the Victory, and made me thy Master, I would have shut thee up in an Iron Cage, and so carried thee about with me.* *Tamberlain* was not ignorant of the *Lex Talionis*, nor of that natural Law, which the Emperor *Alex. Severus* (as saith *Lampridius*) so often repeated, *Do to another, what you would have done to you*. Following the Law of the *Twelve Tables* of the *Romans*, and of that famous *Edict* mentioned by *Aulus Gellius*, in the first Chapt. of his *Noctes Attica*; where the Curious Discourse is between *Sextus Cecilius* the Lawyer, and *Phavorinus* the Philosopher. And therefore accordingly he shut him up in an Iron Cage: Yet the *Turkish Annals* say, He still continued his Humanity; always before he decamped, going to see, and civilly saluting his Prisoner; He assured him, he would

would ere long grant what he ſhould deſire: But telling him, he would firſt carry him to *Samarcand*, where he kept his Court; and from thence ſend him to his own Country.

Bajazet was ſo afflicted with this, that he killed himſelf in the Fourteenth Year of His Reign, and the Fourth of his dreadful Impriſonment, in the Year 1403. and of the *Hegira*, or *Flight of Mahomet*, 804. *Theod Spandugin* relates theſe Circumſtances of it; That having no other way to end his Life, filled with Rage and Deſpair, he frequently and with ſuch violence beat his Head againſt the Bars of his Cage, that he broke his Skull, and died diſtracted.

This Emperor left Five Sons, of whom *Muſtapha Zelebi*, the Eldeſt, was loſt at the Battle; The *Annals* ſay, *Amiſſus fuit in Temiriano prælio.* The others eſcaped, who were *Lemir Solyman*, *Iſa Zelebi*, *Zultan Muchemet*, *and Cuſan Zelebi*, who was then very young: I will not meddle with the Accidents, Wars, and Murders, which happened amongſt them; only relate, how after the Death of *Lemir Solyman*, in the Year of *Chriſt* 1423. which is of the *Hegyra* 824, *Amurath* his Son being newly Placed on his Throne, Twenty

Years after *Tamberlain's* Famous Victory; a certain Man, called *Dusmes Mustapha*, pretending to be the Son of *Can Gilderim* or *Bajazet*, appeared in *Romania*. And although *Mahomet the First*, and *Amurath the Second*, was assured, that he was killed at *Mount Stella*; yet the Grecian Emperor *Emanuel Paleologus*, would never believe it; but always thought him the true *Mustapha*; and by giving him his utmost Assistance, pull'd many Unhappinesses on his own Head. *Amurath* offered him great Advantages, not to meddle with their Quarrel; but to let them determine it among themselves, with their own Arms.

Carion, in his *Chronicle*, speaks not of *Mustapha*, as an *Impostor*; but says, that the *Greeks* perceiving *Amurath* to raise the *Ottoman* Name and Power, after that Fatal Overthrow at *Mount Stella*, where his Grandfather lost both his Glory and Liberty; and that he attacked all the little *Christian Princes*, who had dependance on the *Eastern Empire*, to extirminate one after another; by their Spoils, seeking to repair his own Losses; though they most Religiously observed the Peace with his Father. Wherefore the *Greeks* then brake it also, taking out of *Lemnos*, his

his Uncle *Mostapha*, whom they had kept there under a sure Guard, as a Rival, capable of frustrating his Designs; for which purpose, they gave him all Imaginable Assistance, that he might dispossess *Amurath*, and obtain the Empire for himself.

This Prince, whither True or False, is uncertain, lived sometime at *Verdari*, a little City of *Thessaly*, bearing the Name of a River, which runs by it; where severall Lords of the Family of the *Evenosor*, took his Party: Assisted with whose Forces, he Besieged the City *Serra*, which, with its Fortress, he forced to a Surrender. This great Success exalted his Hopes, and gave him Courage to attempt *Adrianople*, then Capital of the *Ottoman Empire*; whose Inhabitants had a Favorable Opinion, both of his Person and Title; opening their Gates at his Approach, and swearing Fidelity to him. All *Romagna* followed their Example, and submitted to his Government; yet he still continued his Residence at *Verdari*.

Sultan Amurath thinking on little, but his Pleasures at *Bursa*, where he then kept his Court or Port, heard what Progress *Mustapha* had made, and sent against him *Bassa Bajazet*, with a considerable Army;

but when he came before *Adrianople*, this Trayterous *Bassa* abandoned his Conscience, and his Honour, joining with *Mustapha's* Army; for Recompence of which Treason, he was made *Vizier*; which is like Chancellor, or Prime Minister of State.

Zunaites, Prince of *Smyrna*, who had been Prisoner with the *Impostor Mustapha*, in the strong Fortress of *Monemuasia*, which was the antient *Epidaurus*, armed also for him. The *Turks* call'd this Man *Chusines*. He raised a considerable Body of Men, composed for the most part of *Azapes*, being foot, who fight with Bows and Arrows: *Laonicius* supposes these to have been an Auxiliary of Strangers. He gave great privileges to all those, who took up Arms in his Favour, and that freely embraced his Party.

Having raised this Army, he left *Adrianople*, and Marched streight to *Bursa*; and on the way, finding his new *Vizier*, the *Bassa Bajazet*, was conspiring against him, he caused him to be Excecuted publickly, as a Traytor, within one days Journey of *Bursa*: Thus paying with an Ignominious Death, his double Treason.

In the mean while, *Amurath* advised with his *Bassa's*, how he might best defend himself from the Storm that threatned him. They counsell'd him to release out

of

of Prison, *Mechemet Beg*, Chief of the *Michalogli*; of whom *Lunclavius*, in the Twenty Seventh Chapter of his *Pandects*, gives this account.

Osman, one of the Chief Heads of the *Ottoman*-Family, the better to Establish his Greatness, made a Friendship and Alliance with Three little Princes; by whose Assistance, he extraordinarily advanced his own Affairs, and gained many great Victories over the Christians. One of these Princes was called *Michael*; another, *Mark*; both of the *Eastern* Imperial Family; and the Third, a *Turk*, named *Aurami*; from which Three, were descended the most Considerable Persons then in the *Ottoman* Empires; Still retaining the Names of the Son of *Michel*, *Mark*, and *Aurami*; of *Michalogli*, *Marcalogli*, and *Auramogli*; the *Turkish* Pronounciation calls the last *Eurenosogli*, whom *Mustapha* had on his side: as *Amurath* had the *Micalogli*, and above all, *Beg Mechemet*, the Instrument of his Good Fortune, who exterminated his Rival, in this manner.

Amurath recalled him to the Port from *Nisar*, the antient *Nicocesaria*, often called also *Tocat*, the Chief City of *Capadocia*; where he was under Restraint, kept like a Prisoner; giving him, with his Liberty, the

the Command of his Army: *Mechemet*, without staying at *Bursa*, March't to *Lopadi*, or *Ulabat*, a considerable Town in *Natolia*; encamping near the Bridge. *Dusmes Mustapha* likewise advanced with his Army, on the other side of it, opposite to him. *Mechemet* apprehending the Danger of a Battle, saw that *Dusmes* his Army was no way to be forced, thought on a Stratagem more for his purpose: He then in Disguise went to the Enemy's Guards; and being one of the greatest Men among the *Turks*, made himself known to them, desiring to speak with the Officers, that were his Friends; to whom, with Substantiall Evidence, he represented, and proved the Imposture of *Dusmes Mustapha*, with the Interest the *Greeks* were able to make of their Division, by indeavouring to set up a base, unknown *Impostor*, and Creature of theirs, on the *Ottoman* Throne: Telling them also, what Recompences *Amurath* would give them. *Mechemet*, with the Sentiment of the Christian Religion, had also renounced and disclaimed the Blood of the Imperial Family of *Greeks*, of whom he was descended. By this, and other Arts, he drew to his Master *Amurath's* side, the most considerable Lords and Souldiers in

Dusmes

Dusmes Army, (as *Laonicius* reports at large) which over-threw all his Affairs, without Hopes of any Re-establishment; reducing him to the utmost Extremities. *Dusmes Mustapha*, and *Amurath*, both sent Ambassadors to the Emperor of *Constantinople*, *Johannes Paleologus*, to obtain his Assistance, making great Offers, and soliciting his Ministers with mighty Promises.

This Affair was much debated in the Councel of State; The Reasons of both Sides being considered, the Emperor declared for *Mustapha*, who was his Creature, whom he had begun to oblige, when he was in Prison: And therefore promised himself more from his gratitude, than *Amurath* would ever do. This had great Reason to fright *Amurath's* Party; and doubtless, had it been known, the greater part of his Captains would have declared for his Enemy: But his Ambassadors, foreseeing the danger of such a Report, returned with speed after this denyal, to give the Army an Account of their Expedition; but *Mechemet*, the *Michalogli*, who was a cunning Souldier, and a *Greek*, though he had abjured his Country, with his Faith, caused it to be reported, that the *Greeks* were

for

for them, and were sending vast Succours to their Army. This False News soon got into *Mustapha's* Camp, where it put them in such a Consternation, and Disorder, that before their Ambassadors could give them the True Account of their Alliance with the Empire, and the Assistance he was preparing, most of the chief Officers, and *European* Souldiers, deserted him, getting over the River *Lupis* in the Night, into *Amurath's* Camp; others, by various ways, flying into their own Countries. *Mustapha*, seeing himself thus unhappily forsaken, and incapable to resist his Enemies, (a Memorable Example, shewing the Power of True or False News, spread opportunely through an Army) fled with his Baggage toward the City *Bura* or *Byza*, bearing the Name of the River, on whose Banks it stands: whither he was so closely pursued, that he very narrowly escaped the danger of being taken: but by the Favour and Assistance of the *Cady*, or Judge of the Place, to whom he gave a round Sum of Money, he there got shelter.

Zanaites, Prince of *Smyrna*, who had always followed *Mustapha's* Fortune, both before, and since his Captivity, being as much affrighted as the least Souldier in the

the Army could be, ſtole away ſecretly in the Night, with all his People; and by his Example, drew thoſe after him, who had any remains of Affection to the ſuppoſed Prince *Muſtapha*. *Amurath* putting all thoſe Troops that remained, to the Sword; while *Muſtapha* only thought of ſaving his Life, flying with very few followers; and being favoured by the *Greeks*, paſſed the Channel of Straights of *Gallipoly* into *Romania*, or antient *Thrace*; ſeizing all the Ships, and Veſſels he found in the Ports, or on thoſe Coaſts, to hinder *Amurath* from purſuing him; but could neither foreſee nor help a *Genoeſe*-Ship, that caſt anchor on that Shoar, having for its Fraight of *Turks*, at two Duckets the Head, paid to the Maſter of the Veſſel.

Hiſtorians differ about this Infamous Avarice of the *Genoeſes*, ſo prejudicial to *Chriſtendom*, by their helping the *Turks* for Money into *Europe*; ſome miſtaking it for the firſt time, which was long before, when the *Turks* were fled over from *Aſia*, at that narrow Neck which is near to the Forrels of *Aſty* or *Maitos*, formerly called *Cherſoneſus*, at the Mouth of the *Helleſpont*; and took *Zemenicum*, at the ſame time, ſirnamed *Chirocaſtron*, or the

Town

Town of Widows; because according to *Nicolaides*, they destroyed all the Men, and only kept the Women for their Use. And others mistake it, for that, in a few Years after, when Pope *Eugenius*, having Absolved *Uladislaus* King of *Hungary*, and *Poland*, of his Oath, given to *Amurath*, for the Observation of the Truce, made in the Year 1444. obliging him to declare War; which proved Fatal to himself; That deluded King losing his Life, and a Great Army, at the Memorable Battle of *Varna*; The *Grecian* Emperor *John Paleologus*, with the *Venetians*; and other Christian Princes of *Italy*, seconding his Intentions, promising to keep the *Straights*, and hinder the *Turks* from coming into *Europe*, while *Ibraltem*, Prince of *Caramania*, held him employed in a Fierce War in *Asia*.

This was one of the deepest Wounds, that *Christendom* e'r e received from the *Turks*; their Army being Eighty Thousand Men, composed of several Nations, as *Hungarians*, *Germans*, *Bohemians*, *Rolanders*, *Italians*, and *Walachians*: besides a Train of Four Hundred Pieces of Artillery. The Peace, after a Defeat of the *Turks*, had been concluded for Ten Years; and, for the Security of it, *Lunclavius* (in his

his *Pandects*, (Numb. 116.) affirms upon the Authority of ſeveral Chriſtian Writers, particularly *Cuſpinian*, and many others; That this Young King *Uladiſlaus*, by the Impious Advice of ſome Counſellors, or Miniſters of State, gave into the Hands of *Amurath*, a *Conſecrated Hoſt*, which he thought his God, pawned for the inviolable Obſervation of the Truce, and ſolemnly ſworn upon the *Holy Goſpel* of our *Lord Jeſus Chriſt*: *Amurath* ſwearing alſo by his Prophet *Mahomet*.

But notwithſtanding theſe ſacred Concluſions of this Affair, the *Pope* of *Rome*, *Eugenius the Fourth*, never left off, when *Amurath* was retired into *Aſia* with his Army, till he had broke the Peace, ſending the Cardinal *Juliano Ceſarini*, his Legate *a latere*, to diſpence with, and abſolve the Chriſtian Princes of their Faith and Oath, which they had plighted to the *Turk*, for the Obſervation of this Truce: Which Cardinal ſo acquitted himſelf of his unjuſt Meſſage, by his Prayers and Intreaties, added to the *Papal Commiſſion*, that he broke the Peace, notwithſtanding the Repugnancy of the moſt Conſciencious Oppoſers.

Amurath finding himſelf obliged to return out of *Aſia*, and meet *Uladiſlaus* his Army, came, bringing the greateſt Strength he

he could so suddenly raise: And when the Fight was begun near the City of *Varna*, in a Marish Ground, by the *Mar Maggiore*, or *Pontus Euxinus*, he saw the *Beglerbeg* of *Romania* killed by the Hands of the Valiant *John Huniades*, and the two Wings of his Army put into great Disorder; he then absolutely despairing of Victory, drew out of his Bosome the *Consecrated Host*, with the Articles of the Truce, which the *Christians* had made; and lifting up his Hands and Eyes towards Heaven, said these words, or to this effect: O Jesus Christ! *if thou art God, as the Christians affirm to us, revenge the Perfidiousness of thy Followers, who have pawned Thee in my Hands; see the Injury they do Thee, after having sworn in Thy Name, and on Thy Holy Gospel; violating by an execrable Crime, that Peace so holily and solemnly sworn between us.*

After he had made this Prayer, the Success of the Battle soon alter'd: For *Amurath*, rallying his Routed Troops, and with Fury charging this half Victorious Army, in a short space defeated, and ruined it entirely.

Thus did *God* shew his Judgment on the *Christians*, for having abused and violated, contrary to Justice, their Faith given in his Name;

Name; as both the *Christian* and *Turkish* Histories agree. Though *Callimachus* says, This matter was so secretly done, that the Publick could never know certainly, that any such Gage was put into *Amurath*'s Hands.

The Circumstances of this Great Disaster, makes us observe, That the Protection, which the Emperour gave to the False *Mustapha*, and the Avarice of the *Genoese*-Merchant, who sold a Passage into *Europe*, to *Amurath*'s Troops, were two dreadful blows to *Christendome*; which has often endured its greatest Losses by the blameable Conduct of *Christians* themselves. But to return to our Story.

Amurath having passed the *Straights*, encamped with his Army upon the Plain *Exea*, which is near to *Maitos*, on the side of *Thessaly*. *Mustapha* finding himself so pressed, took his March towards *Bolustis* or *Bolarus* (This plain of *Exea*, is sometime confounded with *Bolustis*) from thence he fled into *Adrianople*; where, being abandoned by his Men, and his Disasters encreasing, he endeavoured to save himself in some other Place; but was taken, and brought back to *Adrianople*: which *Amurath*, by this time, had seized. Here the miserable *Impostor* was Hanged

over

over the Battlements of the City Wall.

For certain, Death is always equally the Punishment, or the Misfortune of those who of the *Ottoman* Family aim at, or seem to have any pretence to the Scepter. That neither the Innocence of Age, the Merit, the Proximity of Blood, the Sureness, nor Justice of the Cause, can ever preserve them, if they fall into the Hands of the Conqueror.

I have taken this Lamentable End of *Mustapha*, word for word, out of the *Turkish Annals*, and the *Pandects of Leonclavius*, with the History of that War, and its Accidents. Indeed, till *Sultan Amurath* was delivered from this considerable Opponent, he could not think himself secure, nor fast seated in his Throne: Which happened in the Year of *Christ*, 1425, and of the *Hegira*, or *Mahometan Computation*, 827. It is true, that one of his Brothers, also named *Mustapha*, who was in *Natolia*, gave him much Trouble, but he overcame it; and getting him into his Power, caused him to have his Throat Cut: Others say, to be Strangled at *Nizar*, or *Nicea*, where he was delivered into his Hands by his own Governour. Which seems to have been

been a mistake, occasioned by the Conformity of the Names of the two *Mustapha's*.

Du Verdier writing the Adventures, and Death of our *Mustapha*, believes him no *Impostor*; and tells his last Flight, and miserable Catastrophe in another manner, as follows: After he found himself (says he) deserted, he cryed out, *Oh, how hard it is to preserve a Great Heart against the Power of Fortune!* There were many Proofs of his Courage; His Pretension to the Empire, was no weak Mark of it. But a Crown was then no longer in Controversie: The Question was, How to save his Life? For which purpose, when his Troops left him, he no more thought of Glory, Honour, nor Interest: but only fled, quitting all his Pretensions, for the Hopes of Life; which, for a little while, he preserved, by the Assistance of the *Greeks*, who received him kindly into their Vessels, and gave him the Opportunity of gaining the Fortress of *Gallipoli*. But all this, only served to ruine him more shamefully; for *Amurath* pursued him so obstinately, that he besieged him in the Place he chose for his Retreat; compelling him to get out of it in mean Equipage; and at last, finding him hid in a Bush on the Mountain *To-*

ganum, he caused him to be strangled in his Presence, that he might be sure he had of him no Competitor left.

Lunclavius, in the 83. *Chap. of his Pandects*, makes a Parallel between this *Mustapha* and *Voldemar*; saying, That *Two Eggs were not ever more alike, than these two [illegible]*. Whom he puts in the [illegible] of *Impostors*. Both of them had mighty Allies; *Mustapha* having for him, *John Paleologus*, the *Grecian* Emperor; and *Voldemar* had *Charles* the Fourth, Emperor and King of *Germany*, whose Empire was more Flourishing than the Others.

CHAP. XII.

Jam. Heraclides,

THE

FALSE DESPOT

OF

Moldavia & Wallachia.

LUnclavius, in his *Supplements to the Turkish Annals*, brings in this Man, whom, he affirms, he both saw and knew. He says, That he had a Noble Meen, was of a middle Stature, had a Body strong and natural; that he was discreet in his Discourse, and used four Languages very well; *to wit*, the *Latin*, *Greek*, *French*, and *Italian*. He was called *James Heraclides* and *Baziliquez*, pretending to be of the Race of the Antient *Despots*, or *Waywoods* of *Wallachia* and *Moldavia*, Lord of the Isle of *Samos*, and Marquis of *Paros*, in the *Archipelago*.

lago. He found some Lords in *Poland* credulous enough to believe him to *Impostor*, who were so much affected with his Person, that with an Army they Establish't him *Despot* of *Moldavia* and *Wallachia*.

The Principal of these *Polish* Lords, were [illegible] and [illegible], whose Army was much inferior in Number to that of *Alexander* the *Despot*, whom they indeavoured to expel, for the putting this *Impostor* into his place. However, the Victory fell on their Side; *Alexander* was driven out, and *James* Establish't *Despot*, and confirmed in his Principality by the *Turkish* Emperor *Solimah*. This was effected by the influence of his Presents, which he sent the *Bassa's* of the Port. The Victory gain'd by this *Impostor*, happen'd the 18th of *November*, in the Year 1561. But yet, three Years after, though he governed his Subjects gently enough, they suspected him to be an *Impostor*, and the *Wallachians* Marthered him in cold Blood.

FINIS.

Some Books Printed for *William Cademan*, at the *Popes-Head* in the *Lower-walk* of the *New-Exchange*, in the *Strand*.

Folio.

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